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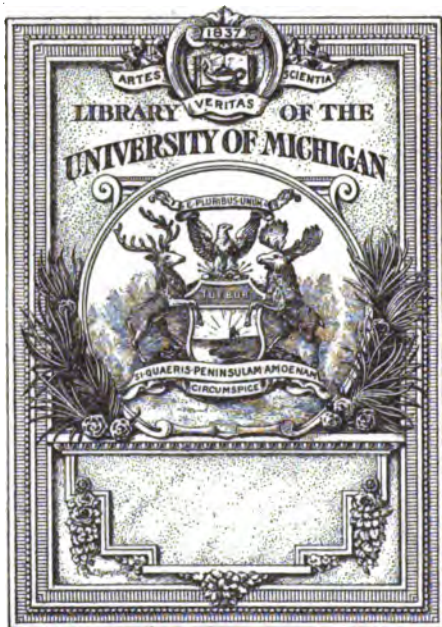
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A SERIES OF PAPERS ON

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND PHILOSOPHY.

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Members of Trinity College, Dublin.

VOL. XI.



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CONTENTS.

	Page
Blaydes' <i>Choephoroi</i> . ROBINSON ELLIS, HON. LL.D., . . .	1
Two Notes on Eusebius. H. J. LAWLOR, D.D., . . .	10
Some Notes on Cicero's Epistles from 57 to 54 B.C. L. C. PURSER, LITT.D.,	50
On the Fixed Alexandrine Year. J. GILBART SMYLY, M.A.,	81
Some Observations on the <i>Peace</i> of Aristophanes. J. B. BURY, M.A.,	89
Observations on Dr. Merry's <i>Odyssey</i> . R. Y. TYRRELL, LITT.D.,	99
The Quasi-Caesura in Vergil. P. SANDFORD, M.A., . . .	110
Attachment against Sir James Carroll, dated 1st March, 1631, Mayor of Dublin, 1612, 1617, and 1627. J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D.,	122
The Identity of Ajax. J. B. BURY, M.A.,	126
The Thorician Stone. J. B. BURY, M.A.,	131
A New Theory of the Ekkyklema; and Two Short Notes. CHARLES EXON, B.A.,	132

	Page
Notes on Aristotle, <i>Parva Naturalia</i> . JOHN I. BEARE, M.A.,	146
Dr. Blaydes's Edition of the <i>Agamemnon</i> . W. J. M. STARKIE, HON. LITT.D.,	157
An Unpublished Essay by Berkeley. SWIFT P. JOHNSTON, M.A.,	180
Considerations on the Cause and Regulating Principle of Variable and Common Quantity in Latin. CHARLES EXON, B.A.,	186
Review of works on Zachariah of Mitylene. JOHN GWYNN, D.D.,	214
Other Reviews,	227
Notes on Cicero <i>Ad Atticum XIV</i> . J. S. REID, HON. LITT.D.,	243
The Hellenic Element in the Epistle to the Hebrews. ALEX- ANDER R. EAGAR, D.D.,	263
" <i>Ἀτακτα</i> " on Cicero's Letters. J. S. REID, HON. LITT.D., .	288
Notes on the Annals of Tacitus. L. C. PURSER, LITT.D., .	303
Fragment of a Greek Romance. J. GILBART SMYLY, M.A., .	322
Two Passages in Sophocles. J. B. BURY, M.A.,	331
The Greek MSS. used by St. Jerome. J. H. BERNARD, D.D.,	335
Horace, Ode iv, 4, and the Second Aeneid: some remark- able resemblances. H. T. JOHNSTONE,	343
Notes and Emendations on Varro <i>De Lingua Latina</i> . ROBIN- SON ELLIS, HON. LL.D.,	353

CONTENTS.

vii

Page

Note on an Arabic MS. of the <i>Durr Almasun</i> of Ibrahim B. 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Kaysarani. STANLEY LANE- POOLE, LITT.D.,	364
Swiftiana in Marsh's Library. NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, B.D.,	369
Latin Verbs in <i>-io</i> with Infinitives in <i>-ere</i> . CHARLES EXON, B.A.,	382
Review of Ridgeway's <i>Early Age of Greece</i> . GEORGE COFFEY, B.A.,	403
Other Reviews,	415-438

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Blaydes' <i>Choephoroi</i> . ROBINSON ELLIS, HON. LL.D., . . .	1
Two Notes on Eusebius. H. J. LAWLOR, D.D., . . .	10
Some Notes on Cicero's Epistles from 57 to 54 B.C. L. C. PURSER, LITT.D.,	50
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The Quasi-Caesura in Vergil. P. SANDFORD, M.A., . . .	110
Attachment against Sir James Carroll, dated 1st March, 1631, Mayor of Dublin, 1612, 1617, and 1627. J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D.,	122
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	Page
Notes on Aristotle, <i>Parva Naturalia</i> . JOHN I. BEARE, M.A.,	146
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An Unpublished Essay by Berkeley. SWIFT P. JOHNSTON, M.A.,	180
Considerations on the Cause and Regulating Principle of Variable and Common Quantity in Latin. CHARLES EXON,	186
REVIEWS,	214

HERMATHENA.

BLAYDES' *CHOEPHOROI*.

THIS is the second instalment of Dr. Blaydes' edition of the Aeschylean Trilogy. It has been since completed by the *Eumenides* (1899), so that we now possess the editor's entire views on this very difficult series of tragedies.

If the present play is compared with the *Agamemnon*, Dr. Blaydes' work upon it is somewhat slighter than in the former volume. The critical notes are not so profuse, and the commentary is kept more within compass. Wecklein's editions have been largely utilized, and much of value is drawn from them, especially from the volume containing what Wecklein calls the less probable emendations. To the two Oxford editors, Conington and A. Sidgwick, an equal, if not greater, debt is owing.

Even more than in the *Agamemnon*, there is a wide divergence, in respect of difficulty, between the iambic and the lyric portions of the *Choephoroi*. There is rarely much in the former which cannot be satisfactorily explained, and the corruptions of the MSS. admit of facile alteration. The choric parts, on the other hand, are so excessively corrupt, as to have baffled not merely the present race of critics, but the sagacity of a Porson, an Elmsley, a Dobree,

BLAYDES' 'CHOEPHOROI.'

a Hermann. To mention a well-known case, 969-972, which MSS. give thus:—

τύχα δ' εὐπροσώπῳ κοίτῃ τὸ πᾶν
 ἰδεῖν ἀκοῦσαι θρεομένοις
 μετοικοδόμων πεσοῦνται πάλιν,

the metre (dochmiac) makes it tolerably certain that *μετοικοδόμων* is a corruption either of *μετοίκους δόμων* (Schütz), or *μετοίκῃ δόμων*. It is almost as certain that *εὐπροσωποκοίτῃ* (Hermann), or *εὐπροσωποκοίται* (Scholefield), was the lengthy Aeschylean compound which the copyists did not understand, just as they misunderstood *μετωποσωφρόνων* in *Suppl.* 198, and changed it to *μετώπων σωφρόνων*. But can anyone vouch for *τὸ πᾶν ἰδεῖν ἀκοῦσαι θρεομένοις*? The words can hardly be fitted even to any Aeschylean mode of thought. At any rate, they have not yet been satisfactorily explained; for of all Paley's rash guesses, perhaps none is less convincing than his substitution of *πρευνμενείς* for *θρεομένοις*. Nor can I find any real satisfaction in W. Headlam's *ἐραμένοις*, which Blaydes accepts, writing the passage thus: *δόμους | ἰδεῖν ἐνοικεῖν τ' ἐραμένοις*.

There are cases of this insoluble kind in the play where, in my opinion, the present editor has omitted some conjectures which, even if not carrying absolute conviction, open up a new line of possibility. Every reader of Aeschylus will recall, from the *Kommos*, the fine passage, 381-4—

Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ κάτωθεν ἀμπέμπων
 ὑστερόποινον ᾄταν
 βροτῶν τλήμονι καὶ πανούργῳ
 χεῖρί, τοκεῦσι δ' ὁμῶς τελεῖται.

Here the usual view is, that after *χεῖρί* there is an aposiopesis, and that the expected imperative is replaced by a confident statement of the forthcoming execution of vengeance. If this is so, the line does not correspond metri-

cally to the antistrophe κλῦτε δὲ γὰρ χθονίων τε τετιμέναι. This difficulty is generally removed by substituting, after Bothe, τε τιμαί. Lachmann felt the weakness of this, and changed τελείγαι to τέλει, τέλει. Combining this powerful repetition with δόμοισι¹ for δ' ὁμως, we obtain a construction which satisfies the natural craving for an imperative, and by the double asyndeton, τοκεῦσι, δόμοισι, τέλει τέλει, conveys an emphatic and dramatically highly effective prayer, "Zeus, to the parent, to the house fulfil, yea fulfil." I can see no objection to τετιμέναι, as applied to the Erinnyes, the powers in a special sense held in honour in the subterranean realm.

Our new editor omits all notice of Lachmann's τέλει, τέλει (adopted by Peile), yet, feeling the want of an imperative, writes the verse thus—

χειρί, τοκεῦσι δίκαν τέλεσσον.

But, on the other hand, Dr. Blaydes has reopened the question on a passage generally thought to be settled, 342 sqq.—

ἀντὶ δὲ θρήνων ἐπιτυμβιδίων
παιὰν μελάβροισ ἐν βασιλείαις
νεοκρᾶτα φίλον κομίζει.

So MSS. Porson corrected κομίσσειεν. This has dissatisfied modern critics, who have proposed various alterations, νεοκρᾶτα φίλοισι κομίζοι, or φιλίαν ν. κομίζοι, Paley; φιάλην ν., Wecklein, after Scaliger; κλείζοι, van Herwerden. It is difficult to see what is right, but (and this is the particular value of Dr. Blaydes' edition) the accumulation of passages in which φιλίαν is found in combination with ἀνα- or συγ- κεράννυσθαι makes it probable that φίλον or φιλίαν should not give place to φιάλην.

¹ δόμοισι is my own suggestion.

As examples of accumulation of parallels in the Commentary which are useful not only for settling the reading of the *Choephoroi*, but as illustrating Aeschylus and the Tragedies generally, I may be permitted to call attention to 101, *οὐ νομίζειν ἔχθος*; 167, *ὀρχεῖται καρδίᾳ*; 190, *ἐπώνυμος*; 217, *ἐκπαγλεῖσθαι*; 266, *γλώσσης χάριν* (in the quotation from Theocritus *μαψιδίου* is wrongly printed for *μαψιδίοιο*); 313, *δράσαντι πυθεῖν*; 315, *πάτερ αἰνόπατερ*; 354, *φίλος φίλοις*, where Petronius' *amicus amico* might have been added: (cf. Heraeus, *Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen*,¹ Teubner, 1890, indispensable to all lovers of Petronius); 394, *ἀμφιθυλής*; 471, *ἔμμορον*; 506, *φελλός*, the use of corks in nets. In the convolute² of quotations (I use a neo-Germanism) on 569, *πύλαισι—ἀπείργετε*, I do not think either *ianua prohibiti* or *exclusus fore* really parallel, as both *ianua* and *fore* mean "from the door," and are not, in any sense, instrumental ablatives. Again, on 600, *ἀπέρωτος ἔρω*, one might have wished for a *detailed discussion*, such as few could have given more learnedly than Dr. Blaydes, of the remarkable variant *ἀπερωπός*, which the scholiast read here and explained as *στυγνός*, the more that this is confirmed by the Etymologicon Magnum, p. 120, and by Phrynichus (Bekk. p. 8). Where, indeed, can we look for really exhaustive discussion on points like this if it is not to scholars of life-long research, such as is the venerated editor before us? In 630 I observe that Conington's view of *γυναικεῖαν αἰχμάν*, 'a woman's sceptre,' is not mentioned. Surely the sense of 'temper' ought to have been *proved*; there is something very improbable in such a use, and it cannot be settled without a full discussion in the manner, still not surpassed, of Buttmann's *Lexilogus*, or the similar works of Lobeck.

I must not forbear to regret a marked incongruity

¹ P. 36

² Nearly = collection, assortment.

between the readings given in the text and those commented on in the notes. The latter nearly always correspond with the common texts, *e.g.* Conington's or Dindorf's: the text prints Dr. Blaydes' own conjectural restorations. This does not, indeed, greatly affect scholars to whom the play is familiar, but it is very perplexing for beginners. Something, too, of additional lucidity might be desired in the statement of the MS. readings. Like some of the poems of Catullus, the choruses of the *Choephoroi* are so deeply vitiated, that they ought to be presented (for critical purposes) from beginning to end exactly as they are given in the MSS., or, better perhaps, in M (Mediceus). For this purpose it is, of course, best to have the facsimile (recently published) of M. Short, however, of this, the transcript of Merkel, published by the Clarendon Press, is very useful. For in spite of the numerous recastings, by the most eminent scholars, from Porson and Hermann to our own time, these lyrics still remain open to question and debate. I will instance as a signal specimen the chorus *νῦν παραιτούμένη μοι, πάτερ* (783 Dind.), the final word on which is still unsaid, and will, I expect, remain so, unless from some 'old Egyptian' papyrus yet to be unearthed, whether by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, or their successors, some quite new and unexpected light be found to illumine the obscurity.

This notice would be imperfect if it did not contain some statement as to Dr. Blaydes' own corrections. I select the following from a very large list:—

122. *μ' αἰτεῖν* for *μοῦστίν*.
 290. *μάστιγι* for *πλάστιγγι*. Or has the *λ* been transposed from *μάσθλητι*?
 294. *συνθύειν*, which seems to have also occurred to Burges.
 303. *εὐδόξῳ χερὶ* for *εὐ. φρενί*. This seems very likely.
 350. *τέκνων τ' ἐν πολίταις ἐπίστρεπτον αἰῶ* for *τέκνων τ' ἐν κελεύθοις*.

407. τῶν φθιμένων ἀραὶ for ἀραὶ φθιμένων.
440. Here Dr. Blaydes retains the MS. reading, ἔπρασε δ' ἅπερ (not ᾗπερ) νιν ὧδε θάπτει, translating, "and she was the author of the deed, she who thus ignominiously buries him."
493. πέδαις ἀχαλκεύουσιν ἡγρεύθης, πάτερ for ἀχαλκεύοις ἐθρεύθης. Here Blaydes advances a step further than Conington, who conj. ἀχαλκεύοισι θηρευθείς.
567. Blaydes accepts Herwerden's ἐποικτίζειν for ἐπεικάζειν.
574. ἐρεῖ καθῆσο for ἐ. σάφ' ἴσθι (? καθῆσθαι).
584. ὀρθῶσαί τέ μοι for ὀρθώσαντί μοι, and so Zakas.
584. θηρίων δάκη for θ. ἄχη. Cf. δάκη θηρῶν, Hipp. 646.
603. φρίσσει for ἴστω. A *very* hazardous *temptamen*.
605. πυρδαῇ πίνοιαν for πυρδαῇ τινα πρόνοιαν. With many critics, Dr. Blaydes rejects the unsupported compound, πυρδαῆτις, which Hermann wished to substitute here. But, on metrical grounds, the new emendation which I have just mentioned seems to me doubtful.
- In strophe 3, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπεμνησάμην, &c. I could have wished the parallel which I quoted (*Classical Review* for 1893, p. 103) from Choricus' Orations *περὶ γάμου* and *Milliades*, had not escaped the attention of our editor. It appears to me to make the emendation ἐπικότως ἔβαν (first mentioned in Scholefield's edition) more than probable. I have myself supplemented* this correction by suggesting δηλοῖσ' (or δηλοῦσ') for δήοις of MSS., thus supplying a participle, on which γαμήλευμ' and μήτιδας might depend.¹ Our editor is here, I think, over-venturous. The passage is so greatly re-written by him as to be quite different.
691. With great justice, Dr. Blaydes rejects the emendation εἶπας for ἐνπᾶσ', which no one expert in palæographical corruptions can fail to see points to something very different. The most probable suggestion (*palæographically*) is ἔμπας (Müller), but the shortness of the -ας (spite of ἔμπα) is not sufficiently made out. Dr. Blaydes gives ἐμφανῶς, Bamberger's (to me very dubious) emendation.

¹ In 633 I offer, for δηποθεῖ of MSS., δὴ πόλει, to be constructed with κατὰπτυστον.

698. Verrall's solution should have been mentioned. In so disputed a passage I may be allowed to quote Dion C. xxix. 53, τὴν τε μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα ὡς καὶ παρούσαν ἔργῳ ἐλάμβανον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα καταπράξειν προσεδέχοντο ὡς καὶ ἔχοντες ἤδη ἡγάλλοντο. It is possible that we should write
 νῦν δ' ἢ παρὴν δόμοισι βακχείας καλῆς
 ἱατρὸς ἐλπίς, μὴ παρούσαν ἐγγράφει.
773. Dr. Blaydes warns us against the doubtful word *κυπτός*, of which *κυφός* is the classical form. He returns to the ms. reading *κρυντός*. Here, again, a *further* discussion would have been of service.
837. *ἐξαπόλλυ* for *ἐξαπολλύς*.

It will be apparent from these specimens that the new edition opens up a multitude of questions anew, and does not profess to be satisfied where so much of doubt still clings. That the editor is at times rash in his speculations is a fault which he shares with many others who have preceded him on the same ground, and it is probable that his *Agamemnon* will be thought a more *matured* work than his *Choephoroi*. Conington thought the *Choephoroi* the hardest of all Greek plays. Perhaps the advance of palæographical study may some day bear its fruit in a recension which will give to the scholars of the twentieth century a glory, not indeed equalling, but rivalling, the achievements of Porson and Hermann in our own.

I add, as the occasion allows, some remarks which, in reading the new edition, have occurred to me.

416. } πρὸς τὸ φανεῖσθαι μοι καλῶς.
 417. } τί δ' ἂν πάντες τύχοιμεν ἢ τάπερ.

It seems probable that the first three letters of φανείσθαι are no original part of 416, but have come in from ^{φαν} πάντες of 417, πάντες (which is without meaning) having been corrected to φάντες. This leaves in 416 only πρὸς το εἶσθαι, which may be a corruption of προσταθεῖσα.

595. If παντόλμους should seem to carry too far the undeniable tendency of the poet in this chorus, to repeat several times the same syllable in different words, *e.g.* δεινὰ δειμάτων, πεδαίχμιοι πεδάοροι πεδοβάμονα (585, 6, 7), ἀπέρωτος (but M had ἀπέρωπος originally) ἔρωσ (598, 9), δαεῖς πυρδαῇ δαφινὸν δαλὸν (602, 5, 7), it is not impossible that κἀνόλβους should be substituted for it.
797. For πλουτογαθῇ μυχὸν νομίζετε the plural μυχὰ may be suggested, like μυχὰ πάντα, Callim. *H. Del.* 142.
806. For λαμπρῶς, possibly λαμπρόφως, cf. λυκόφως, σεληνόφως, σκιάφως. On this the difficult genitive δνοφερᾶς καλύπτρας might depend, "the bright light of the gloomy veil," *i.e.* the light contained in it, and soon to emerge.
815. Among the emendations of πλοῦτον recorded by Wecklein I do not find κρότον.
835. λυπρᾶς of M possibly conceals λύτρα τ', "an expiation which satisfies wrath," *i.e.* a requital by which the anger felt against the murderers of Agamemnon is gratified (reading χάριτας for χάριτος of M).
844. πρὸς γυναικῶν δειματούμενοι λόγοι seems right, "words made frightful by women," words which women make alarming to hear, and scare their hearers by telling.
849. The reading of M points to ὡς αὐτόσ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρα πεύθεσθαι πέρι. αὐτόσε πεύθεσθαι, "as that a man should come to the spot (where the messenger is), and ask about them (*i.e.* the circumstances)."
956. πως should be transposed, κρατεῖται τὸ θεῖόν πως παρὰ τὸ μή. The verse is one form of dochmiac. 958, by omitting δ', is another, ἄξιον οὐρανοῦχον ἀρχὰν σέβειν. For the normal $\cup - \cup, - \cup - \cup$ is substituted. In 960 I suggest μέγα τ' ἀφηρέθην ψάλιον (ἐξ) οἴκων.
- 464-473. ὦ πόνος ἐγγενής—θεῶν τῶν κατὰ γᾶς ὄδ' ὕμνος.

These verses form the concluding section of the Kommos. Kirchhoff, Wecklein, and Verrall believe them to be sung by Orestes, Electra, and the Chorus *together*. Scholefield, Conington, and Blaydes give 464-468 to Electra, 469-473 to Orestes. Preferably, I imagine, the order observed else-

where in the Kommos, Orestes, then Electra, then the Chorus, should be preserved here. By each of the three are recited three verses; the last verse by all together, as follows:—

464. *Or.* ὦ πόνος ἐγγενὴς
καὶ παράμουντος αἵτης }
αἱματοέσσα πλαγὰ. }
467. *El.* ὠ δύστον' ἄφερτα κήδη, }
ὠ δυσκατάπαυστον ἄλγος }
δώμασιν ἔμμοτον.
470. *Chor.* τῶνδ' ἄκος οὐδ' ἀπ' ἄλλων
ἔκτοθεν ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν,
δι' ὧμᾶν ἔριν αἱματηράν.
Or. El. Chor. θεῶν κατὰ γᾶς ὄδ' ὕμνος.

On this view the *first* verse of Orestes' part corresponds metrically to the *last* of Electra's; the second and third of Orestes' to the first and second of Electra's: a chiasmic arrangement. This gives ἔμμοτον a more natural sense, = with the lint in it, *i.e.* still unstaunched (δυσκατάπαυστον).

- 470-472. "To those that are here (primarily Orestes and Electra, but also including the Chorus) belongs the cure (ἄκος, Schütz, for ἑκὰς of M) brought, not from others outside, but from themselves alone, so to keep alive the still dripping strife of blood." The cure involves a new murder (of Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus), and this consequence is represented as a purpose. There is nothing in M which stands in the way of thus ordering the verses.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

TWO NOTES ON EUSEBIUS.

I.—THE ‘MEMOIRS’¹ OF HEGESIPPUS.

BY some writers Hegesippus has been styled the “Father of Church History.” Others, anxious to reserve this honourable title for Eusebius, have drawn attention to the fact, that the last of his five *Memoirs* contained an account of so early an event as the martyrdom of James the Just, and from this infer that his work was “nothing more than a collection of reminiscences,” and “quite without chronological order and historical completeness.”² On both sides it seems to be tacitly assumed that Hegesippus composed what at least aimed at being a history of the Church. And this was the opinion of St. Jerome. “Hegesippus,” he writes, “vicinus apostolicorum temporum, omnes a passione Domini, usque ad suam aetatem, ecclesiasticorum actuum texens historias, multaque ad utilitatem legentium pertinentia hinc inde congregans, quinque libros composuit sermone simplici.”³ But Jerome gives no evidence, except in this sentence, that he knew more of Hegesippus, than we ourselves may learn, from the work which in so many cases appears to have been his only source of information as to early Christian writers, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. And the remark which has been quoted seems to have

¹ It is only in recent times, I believe, that this word has come to be used as the equivalent of *ἱστορία*, which it appears to me to represent very inadequately. But, as it has received the sanction of such high authorities

as Lightfoot, Hort, and Westcott, I have thought it convenient to retain it.

² M'Giffert, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. i., pp. 81, 198.

³ *De Vir. Ill.* 22.

been only an expansion, quite after Jerome's manner, of the words of Eusebius, 'Εν πέντε δὴ οὖν συγγράμμασιν οὗτος τὴν ἀπλανῆ παράδοσιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτῃ συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνηματισάμενος,¹ in which there is nothing which necessarily implies an historical work. Let us see, then, what Eusebius really tells us as to the nature of the book which Hegesippus wrote. His most important statement occurs in the immediate vicinity of that now referred to, forming the closing sentence of *H. E.* iv. 7, and the opening words of the next chapter. After giving some account of Saturninus and Basilides, and of Carpocrates, "the father of the Gnostics," he proceeds: "Nevertheless, in the time of the heretics just mentioned, the truth again called to her aid many champions of her own, who made war against the godless heresies, not only by *viva voce* refutations, but also by written demonstrations. Among these (ἐν τούτοις) flourished Hegesippus." After a few sentences devoted to him, Eusebius passes on to Justin Martyr. This description leaves no doubt that the work of Hegesippus was not primarily a history. It was a defence of the Faith against the attacks of heretics, and specially of the Gnostics. But it was more than this. That Hegesippus, like his elder contemporary Justin, argued against heathens, as well as against heretics, may, I think, be safely inferred from a sentence quoted incidentally by Eusebius, with a view to fixing the date of the writer. He writes thus concerning those who at the first set up idols:—"To whom they erected cenotaphs and temples, as is done up to the present time; among whom is also Antinous, the slave of Hadrian Caesar," &c.²

The *Memoirs* then were an Apology for the Faith

¹ *H. E.* iv. 8. Valois translates *παράδοσιν ὑπομνηματισάμενος* "historiam complexus," which is quite arbitrary. I should add, that "vicinus apostolicorum temporum" appears to represent

ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς (*H. E.* ii. 23), which perhaps admits of an interpretation more in accordance with the facts.

² *H. E.* iv. 8.

against unbelievers, for orthodoxy against misbelievers. Now, in disputing with the Greeks, if our writer used the arguments which form the stock-in-trade of the second-century apologists, he would not draw much upon ecclesiastical history. Against the Gnostics also there was much to be said which was purely theological, though here there was an historical argument, upon which Hegesippus, like other controversialists of his age, laid stress. The non-historical portion of the *Memoirs*, in fact, must have included the greater part of the work. Let us suppose that the argument based on the early history of the Church was only reached in the fifth *Memoir*,¹ and we have at once an explanation of the facts that Eusebius does not expressly refer to the first four, and that the martyrdom of St. James was narrated in the closing division of the work. We may thus defend Hegesippus from the charges which have been made against him, of want of method and arrangement. It is true, that our defence obliges us to give up speaking of him as a historian, and as the "Father of Church History"; but to do this is only to cease calling him what he did not, as it seems, claim to be, and what no one who had seen his work claimed for him.²

Our thesis, then, is that the first four *Memoirs* contained few, if any, allusions to the history of the Church. This will become a highly probable supposition if we can show that the historical passages quoted by Eusebius, the exact

¹ That in the fifth *Memoir* Hegesippus contended against Gnostics, and that the argument was not wholly historical may be gathered from Photius, *Bib.* 232.

² Eusebius distinctly states (*H. E.* i. 4): *πρῶτοι γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιβάντες οἱ αἱρετικοὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁδὸν ἐχέουσιν.* On the other hand the title, *Ἡγουμενίου ἱστορία*, which occurs in the 16th century, was probably taken

from a manuscript copy of the *Memoirs*. See Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutest. Kanons u. der altkirchl. Literatur*, vi Teil, Leipzig, 1900, p. 249, note. I regret that this volume, which contains a valuable account of the extant fragments of Hegesippus, did not come into my hands until the present Paper was in type.

source of which is not stated, are, for the most part, drawn from the fifth division of Hegesippus' work. This, I think, will be found to be the case. We can, as I believe, reconstruct nearly the whole of a long passage of the fifth *Memoir*, which Eusebius, after his manner,¹ has cut up into fragments, inserted where it suited him in his *History*, and including nearly all the extant sentences of the writings of our author—all, in fact, but one, which have a direct bearing on Ecclesiastical History.

The earliest extract from Hegesippus is found in *H. E.* ii. 23, and contains the account of the martyrdom of James the Just, first bishop of Jerusalem. It is too long for quotation, so I must content myself with indicating the place where it may be read, merely remarking, that it is expressly stated to have been taken from the fifth *Memoir*. Our first Hegesippean passage then is—

A. *H. E.* ii. 23, §§ 4-18.

This was preceded (possibly in a former *Memoir*²) by an account of the seven sects of the Jews,³ and of this account a fragment is doubtless preserved in *H. E.* iv. 22, § 6; but as the passage does not deal with Christian history, we are not concerned with it here. Of more account for our purpose is a sentence which Eusebius has placed a few lines higher up, and which must now be transcribed.

B. *H. E.* iv. 22, § 4 :

καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρηῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν προέβητο πάντες, ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ κυρίου, δεύτερον.

¹ So he quotes nearly an entire chapter of Tertullian (*Apol.* 5), *H. E.* ii. 2, 25; iii. 20; v. 5.

² So Zahn, p. 232.

³ See § 8, τινὲς οὖν τῶν ἐπτα αἵρέσεων τῶν ἐν τῷ λαῷ, τῶν προγεγραμμένων μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, κτλ.

The opening words of this sentence seem to imply that a narrative of the martyrdom of James had preceded it; and if so, there can be little doubt that the narrative in question was that which we have marked A. This inference will be strengthened presently. Assuming its correctness for the moment, the question arises, Did B follow A *immediately*, or did a passage, now lost, intervene between *H. E.* ii. 23, § 18, and iv. 22, § 4? This point is not easily settled. On the one hand, the abrupt close of A, καὶ εὐθὺς Οὐεσπασιανὸς πολιορκεῖ αὐτούς, certainly suggests that some account of the Jewish war followed.¹ But, on the other hand, it is difficult to believe, that if Hegesippus had enlarged on this subject Eusebius would have failed to quote him. For the war the historian depends wholly on Josephus, though, when he comes to the murder of St. James, he places his account side by side with that of the Christian writer. Had Hegesippus entered upon the subject of the war at all, he would certainly have told much that would have been of interest to Eusebius, and he would have preserved him from the error (if it be such) of supposing that Symeon and his successors in the Hebrew episcopate ruled at Jerusalem.² And the two passages, A and B, may, without violence, be read consecutively. A consideration to be mentioned presently will make it appear likely that, if B did not immediately follow A, it was separated from it by a passage of no great length.³

The sentence succeeding B in Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 22, § 5) causes some difficulty. It runs thus : Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον· οὕπω γὰρ ἔφθαρτο ἀκοαῖς ματαίαις. This remark is most inconsequential. Διὰ τοῦτο hangs in the air, for the mere fact that Symeon was unanimously

¹ Compare Zahn, p. 236.

² Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 317.

³ Zahn (p. 269 sq.) gives reasons for supposing that Hegesippus mentioned

the flight of the Christians of Jerusalem to Pella. If so, his narrative of that event may very probably have come between A and B.

appointed to the episcopate cannot account for the Church being called a virgin. Valois cuts the knot by emending to *μεχρὶ τοῦτου*. Heinichen prefers to follow Stroth, and talks of the badness of Hegesippus' style, which is perhaps hardly fair.¹ But a solution lies close at hand, so obvious that I can scarcely imagine that no one has hitherto suggested it. What is to hinder us from supposing that Eusebius has omitted a passage, not relevant to his immediate purpose, between B and the words *διὰ τοῦτο*? This, indeed, would not be in accordance with his usual method of citation. When he quotes two passages from an early writer which are not consecutive, he usually introduces the second with some such phrase as *τούτοις δὲ μεθ' ἑτέρα ἐπιφέρει λέγων*. But this is not an overwhelming difficulty.² Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that Eusebius was guilty of so quoting Hegesippus as to leave his expressions without meaning. He does the same thing with other writers.³ But our conjecture will be made much more probable if we can supply, from other parts of the *History*, the passage, or a considerable part of it, which we suppose Eusebius to have here omitted. This we shall now endeavour to do.

It is first necessary to rescue for Hegesippus two fragments which are not obviously his. The first is that which is paraphrased in *H. E.* iii. 11, on the election of Symeon to the episcopate; the second, a passage similarly treated in

¹ Zahn does not feel the difficulty of *διὰ τοῦτο*. But this arises, I venture to think, from his reading into the final clause of B what must have been clearly expressed if the phrase had immediate reference to it: 'Die einmütige Wahl Simeons *und die darin sich darstellende Einmütigkeit der Kirche* sieht Heg. als den Grund an, welcher die ihm aus früherer Zeit überlieferte Benennung der Kirche

jener Zeit als Jungfrau gerechtfertigt erscheinen lässt,' p. 237. The italics are mine.

² In his quotation from Clement of Alexandria, in *H. E.* v. 11, he, in like manner, omits a sentence.

³ See, for example, his quotation from Dionysius of Alexandria, *H. E.* iii. 28, which can only be understood when read with its context in *H. E.* vii. 25.

the following chapter. The eleventh chapter begins with the words: Μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτίκα γενομένην ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, λόγος κατέχει τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν τοὺς εἰσέτι τῷ βίῳ λειπομένους ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ πανταχόθεν συνελθεῖν. What is the λόγος here referred to? According to the latest, and I believe the best, English translation of the *History*,¹ it is no more than an oral tradition, for the phrase λόγος κατέχει is rendered "it is said." But this is incorrect. As Lightfoot has observed, the expression λόγος κατέχει "is not confined to oral tradition, but may include contemporary written authorities, and implies authentic and trustworthy information."² I have myself collected a number of instances of the use of this and similar phrases from the *History*, which completely corroborate this remark. In the majority of cases where Eusebius introduces a narrative with the words λόγος (κατ)έχει, the document on which he relies is either indicated in the immediate context,³ or may be discovered by a search through the passages from previous writers scattered through his pages.⁴ Only a few instances of the

¹ That of Mr. M'Giffert, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. i.

² *Ignatius*, vol. i., pp. 58, 238.

³ *H. E.* ii. 7; 17, §§ 6, 19; 22, § 2 (see §§ 3-7); iii. 18, § 1 (see §§ 2, 3); 19; 32, § 1 (see § 2); 36, § 3 (see § 7: the passage cited does not, of course, prove that Ignatius was actually martyred, though, judging from *H. E.* iv. 16, it is not impossible that Eusebius thought otherwise); iv. 5, § 1 (see § 2: I regard the statement that the bishops were short-lived as an inference from the number of names in the written lists—the διαδοχαί of v. 12); iv. 28 (see 29, § 3); v. 5, §§ 1, 2 (see §§ 3-7); vi. 28 (?).

⁴ *H. E.* iii. 20, § 11 (see 23, § 6, and cf. 18, § 3; 23, § 3); 37, § 1 (see v. 17, § 3); v. 10, § 1 (see vi. 19, § 13, where,

however, it is not stated that Pantænus was a Stoic. Observe that λόγος ἐχει is here, as it seems, contrasted with φασί). In *H. E.* iii. 24, § 5 we have the statement, depending on λόγος κατέχει, that Matthew and John wrote their Gospels "of necessity" (ἐκδυναγκεῖς). It is possible that Eusebius intended λόγος κατέχει to cover only his assertion about St. Matthew. For when in § 7 sqq. he recounts a story of the origin of St. John's Gospel, for which no earlier authority is known, he refers, and apparently with some emphasis, to common report as the evidence for what he tells (φασί, §§ 7 bis, 11). His assertion about St. Matthew is scarcely more than a fair inference from extracts which he gives elsewhere from Papias (iii. 39, § 16), Irenæus (v. 8, § 2),

phrase remain, in which it does not seem possible to name the document referred to,¹ and in none of these is the use of documentary evidence excluded, or improbable. It may be regarded therefore as much more likely than not that in *H. E.* iii. 11 Eusebius is not merely reporting a current tradition, but paraphrasing a document.²

To the conclusion that this document was the *Memoirs* of Hegesippus several facts at once point. In the first place, Hegesippus is named in the context. At the end of the chapter we are told: τὸν γὰρ οὖν Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὑπάρχειν Ἡγήσιππος ἱστορεῖ.³ This is either a reference to a passage of Hegesippus not now extant, or, as seems less likely, a loose citation of words already quoted (B). But again the words μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυρίαν are a paraphrase of the expression with which Hegesippus introduces his statement, that Symeon was elected bishop of Jerusalem—μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον. And lastly, the statement that the martyrdom of St. James was

and Origen (vi. 25, § 4). That it was made by Papias in so many words, in the passage of which no more than the two concluding sentences are now preserved (iii. 39, § 16), is far from incredible.

¹ *H. E.* i. 12, § 3; ii. 17, § 1; vi. 4, § 3 (perhaps referring to a letter of Origen, as in the next sentence, *ὡς τοῦ φησὶν αὐτός*); vii. 12; 32, § 6; viii. 6, § 6; App. § 1. In ii. 1, § 13 reference is, no doubt, made to Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 12, § 8, while for the statement in v. 19, § 1 there can be no question that a written list of bishops of Antioch was the voucher.

² This becomes clearer if the connexion between chapters 11 and 12 is noticed. The more probable view of the construction of the latter is that it depends on *λόγος κατέχει* at the beginning of chapter 11. But the statements of the two chapters are quite

heterogeneous. It is almost impossible to suppose that they are referred to as different parts of a single tradition: there is no difficulty in imagining them to be taken from different sections of the same book.

³ I find that Zahn (p. 238) uses this as an argument on the other side. He writes: 'Da Eus. den Heg. ausdrücklich nur für eine ergänzende Bemerkung als Gewährsmann anführt, kann nicht dieser allein die einzige Quelle sein.' The edge of this reasoning seems to be turned, if we suppose the statement in question to come from a different context from that which Eusebius paraphrases in the previous sentences. But Zahn admits that chaps. 11, 12 are probably *ultimately* derived from Hegesippus, which is all that we are concerned to maintain. See also Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 170.

immediately followed by the sack of Jerusalem is Hegesippean. Eusebius follows two main authorities for the martyrdom, Josephus and Hegesippus. The former dates it as having taken place between the death of Festus and the arrival of his successor Albinus (*H. E.* ii. 23, § 21 sqq. = *Jos. Ant.* xx. 9, § 1), *i.e.* A.D. 61. This date Eusebius adopts in his *Chronicon*, where he assigns the murder to An. Ab. 2077 = 7 Nero. But Hegesippus, in words quoted above (A), puts it immediately before either the Jewish war or the siege of Jerusalem.¹ This is the date given in the passage before us.

There is thus high probability that throughout the chapter Eusebius is engaged in reproducing, in the *oratio obliqua*, a fragment of Hegesippus. In what part of the *Memoirs* did it occur? I answer, with very slight hesitation, as the immediate sequel of our fragment B. It is almost impossible to imagine that that fragment gives the whole of what Hegesippus had to say about Symeon's election. The phrase *προέθεντο πάντες* at least needs some explanation, and iii. 11 gives exactly the explanation which is required. It defines *πάντες* as the surviving Apostles and disciples of the Lord, it narrates how they all assembled together and deliberated, and arrived at a unanimous decision. And further, if this passage immediately followed B, *μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυρίαν* is no longer a paraphrase of a chance expression of Hegesippus in a different context, but of one which occurred in a passage which actually lay before Eusebius as he wrote. The statement about the connexion between the martyrdom and the siege of Jerusalem, again, is taken from the end of A, and confirms the conclusion already reached, that if

¹ It was plainly in the latter sense that Eusebius understood the puzzling words of Hegesippus, καὶ εὐθὺς Οὐεσσιππος πολιορκεῖ αὐτούς; for he im-

mediately afterwards paraphrases them, τῆς παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτοῦ πολιορκίας τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ.

A and B were not consecutive, they were, at least, not far apart. Thus we may write out part of *H. E.* iii. 11 as the third in our sequence of fragments from the Hegesippean *Memoirs*, enclosing it in brackets, since it is only known to us in paraphrase. How much of the latter part of it is Hegesippus, and how much the comment of Eusebius, I do not venture to pronounce.

C. *H. E.* iii. 11:

[(λόγος κατέχει) τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν τοὺς εἰσέτι τῷ βίῳ λειπομένους ἐπὶ ταῦτὸ πανταχόθεν συνελθεῖν, ἅμα τοῖς πρὸς γένους κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ κυρίου· πλείους γὰρ καὶ τούτων περιῆσαν εἰσέτι τότε τῷ βίῳ· βουλὴν τε ὁμοῦ τοὺς πάντας περὶ τοῦ τίνα χρὴ τῆς Ἰακώβου διαδοχῆς ἐπικρίναι ἄξιον ποιήσασθαι. καὶ δὴ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης τοὺς πάντας Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύει γραφὴ, τοῦ τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας θρόνου ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι, ἀνεψιόν γε, ὡς φασί, γεγονότα τοῦ σωτῆρος. τὸν γὰρ οὖν Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὑπάρχειν (Ἠγήσιππος ἱστορεῖ).]

The way is now opened for a consideration of the short chapter which follows—*H. E.* iii. 12. This chapter, consisting of a single sentence, is, like the one with which we have been dealing, in the *oratio obliqua*. It has been debated whether it depends on κατέχει λόγος at the beginning, or on Ἠγήσιππος ἱστορεῖ at the end, of chap. 11.¹ For us the question is purely syntactic. In either case, if our reasoning has been correct, it is an indirect quotation from Hegesippus. We must return to it hereafter. For the present I only remark that the opening phrase καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις seems to mark it as not continuous with the passage paraphrased in chap. 11.²

We have now succeeded in replacing one part of the

¹ The third alternative, suggested by Zahn (p. 238), that the construction depends on ὡς φασί, seems highly improbable.

² Cf. *H. E.* i. 8, § 16; ii. 1, § 14; iii. 32, § 7, &c. But see also iv. 15, § 15. Compare Heinichen *ad loc.*

passage which we suppose Eusebius to have omitted after B. And thus we have obtained confirmation of our hypothesis that there is a lacuna in the quotation at iv. 22, §§ 4-6. But we have not yet explained διὰ τοῦτο. In other words we have not yet found the concluding portion of the omitted passage. But if the omission is once granted, it is not far to seek. We have only to write down *H. E.* iii. 32, §§ 7, 8, followed by iv. 22, §§ 5, 6 (omitting part of the latter), and to allow our readers to judge whether the former is the passage of which we are in search.¹

D. *H. E.* iii. 32, §§ 7, 8 :

[ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ('Ηγήσιππος) διηγούμενος τὰ κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους (sc. Τραϊανόν, κτλ.) ἐπιλέγει) ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρά καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκοτίῳ φωλευόντων εἰσέτι τότε τῶν, εἰ καὶ τινες ὑπῆρχον, παραφθείρειν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιή κανόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος. 'Ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος, παρεληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη τῶν αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι κατηξιωμένων, τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης· οἱ καὶ, ἅτε μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἀποστόλων λειπομένου, γυμνῇ λοιπὸν ἤδη τῇ κεφαλῇ τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι "τὴν ψευδώνομον γνῶσιν" ἀντικηρύττειν ἐπεχειροῦν].

E. *H. E.* iv. 22, §§ 5, 6 :

Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον· οὕτω γὰρ ἔφθαρτο ἀκοαῖς ματαίαις. Ἀρχεται δ' ὁ Θέβουθις, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὑποφθείρειν. Ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ αἱρέσεων . . . ἕκαστος ἰδίως καὶ ἐτέρως ἰδίαν δόξαν παρεισηγάγοσαν. Ἀπὸ τούτων ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφῆται, ψευδαπόστολοι, οἵτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἑνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθοριμαίοις λόγοις κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

¹ Valois seems to regard D as a mere paraphrase of E. But this cannot be. On the other hand, Zahn's view (p. 241), that D is a paraphrase

of a passage in which the substance of E was repeated in a different connexion, seems to me to be unsupported by evidence, and *a priori* not very probable.

Before passing on, one or two words remain to be said about the extracts B, C, D, E. First, it will naturally be asked whether any reason can be given for Eusebius' omission of C and D in *H. E.* iv. 22. The answer must be that these passages were there wholly irrelevant. The historian prefaces BE with the statement, 'Ο δ' αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν αἰρέσεων τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑποτίθεται διὰ τούτων. To the subject, as thus defined, C and D were not pertinent, and they had been already quoted. It was therefore quite reasonable to pass them by. A, on the other hand, was necessary in order to fix the date, and to explain the allusion to Thebuthis in E: for no doubt it was the intention of Eusebius to convey that Thebuthis was proposed as a rival candidate for the episcopate when Symeon was elected. Anyhow it is very probable that this actually took place. He was a convert from one of the Jewish sects, and the majority of such converts were won through the influence of James the Just.¹

It is not easy to judge whether C and D were consecutive. The passages taken by themselves seem, on the whole, to favour the supposition that they were. The allusion, indeed, in D to the death of the Apostles may appear to favour a different conclusion. This allusion, however, is not decisive, and in any case it may have arisen from a misunderstanding on the part of Eusebius of the text which lay before him. Hegesippus was speaking of the Christian community at Jerusalem,² though Eusebius seems to have thought that he had in view the entire Church. What would give increased courage to the heretics there, would be, not the death of the last of the Apostles at Ephesus, but the withdrawal from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem of those who had elected Symeon. It is quite possible that a reference to

¹ *H. E.* ii. 23.

² I am aware that this view has been contested.

their departure was construed by Eusebius as indicating their death.¹ The note of time, again, at the beginning of D points to the reign of Trajan, while C refers to the time of Titus. But this note is an insertion of the historian, and may be due to his error as to the meaning of *ἐκκλησία* as used by Hegesippus.² But the matter is not capable of confident determination; though I am inclined to suppose that D followed C immediately, or after a short interval.

It is easy to fix upon the fragment which followed E, since Eusebius himself helps us to find it. 'Ηγήσιππος, he says (*H. E.* iii. 32), *περί τινων αἵρετικῶν ιστορῶν ἐπιφέρει δηλῶν ὡς ἄρα ὑπὸ τούτων κατὰ τόνδε τὸν χρόνον ὑπομείνας κατηγορίαν πολυτρόπως ὁ δηλούμενος ὡς ἂν χριστιανός, ἐπὶ πλείσταις αἰκισθεὶς ἡμέραις, αὐτὸν τε τὸν δικαστὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα καταπλήξας, τῷ τοῦ κυρίου πάθει παραπλήσιον τέλος ἀπηνέγκαστο.* The first words of this sentence obviously allude to E. The following fragment³ will be at once recognized as referred to in the succeeding clause (*ἐπιφέρει . . . χριστιανός*).

F. *H. E.* iii. 32, § 3 :

Ἀπὸ τούτων κατηγοροῦσιν τινες Συμεῶνος τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὡς ὄντος ἀπὸ Δαβὶδ καὶ χριστιανοῦ. Καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρεῖ ἐτῶν ὦν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπατικοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.

¹ Zahn observes (p. 241), that in D the *oratio obliqua* does not extend beyond the first sentence. If, on the strength of this fact, 'Ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερός, κτλ., is regarded as a statement of Eusebius not based on Hegesippus, the difficulty here mentioned of course disappears.

² Compare the similar confusion of Tertullian, *ap. Eus. H. E.* iii. 20.

³ I am sorry to observe that, with regard to the arrangement of these and the following fragments, I am at

variance with Zahn, who gives them in the order H, I, K, F, M. He looks upon H as a preliminary account of the martyrdom, followed later on by a fuller narrative, of which two fragments remain, F and M (p. 242). Against this view there are two arguments which appear to me of much weight. (1) In the passage just quoted the two fragments H, K are referred to, in the order in which we have placed them. The phrase,

In this quotation I have omitted the words *δηλαδὴ τῶν αἵρετικῶν*, apparently inserted by Eusebius, after *ἀπὸ τούτων*. They are necessary when the passage is quoted, as it is by Eusebius, apart from its context, but needless when F is read after E.

I now proceed to transcribe the remaining passages of Hegesippus which have reference to the Hebrew Church in what I conceive to be their proper sequence, reserving comment till they are all before us.

G. H. E. iii. 12 :

[Καὶ (ἐπὶ τούτοις) Οὐεσπασιανὸν μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμῃ αἰλώσιν πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαβίδ, ὡς ἂν μὴ περιλειφθεῖη τις παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς φυλῆς, ἀναζητεῖσθαι προστάξαι, μέγιστόν τε Ἰουδαίοις αὐτοῖς ἐκ ταύτης διωγμὸν ἐπαρτηθῆναι τῆς αἰτίας.]

H. H. E. iii. 19 ; 20, §§ 1-4 :

[Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ Δομετιανοῦ τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαβίδ ἀναιρεῖσθαι προστάξαντος.] Ἐτι δὲ περιῆσαν οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου υἱῶν οἱ Ἰούδα, τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, οὓς (τῶν αἵρετικῶν τινες)¹ ἐδηλατόρευσαν ὡς ἐκ γένους ὄντας Δαβίδ. Τούτους δ' ὁ ἰουόκατος ἤγαγε πρὸς Δομετιανὸν Καίσαρα· ἐφοβείτο γὰρ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης. Καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς, εἰ ἐκ Δαβὶδ εἰσι. Καὶ ὡμολόγησαν. Τότε ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς, πόσας κτήσεις ἔχουσιν, ἢ πόσων χρημάτων κυριεύουσιν. Οἱ δὲ εἶπον ἀμφοτέροι ἐννακισχίλια δηνάρια

δ̄ δηλούμενος ὡς ἂν χριστιανός, is accounted for, if not fully justified, by F; while it could not have been suggested by anything in K. And, on the other hand, ἐπὶ πλείστοις ἡμέραις . . . καταπλήξας is clearly founded on the last sentence of K, and is without parallel in F. (2) It is implied, both by the words of Eusebius, *περὶ τινων αἵρετικῶν ἱστορῶν*, and by its opening phrase, *ἀπὸ τούτων* (*δηλαδὴ τῶν αἵρετικῶν*),

that F was immediately preceded by some remarks about heretics. This condition is satisfied by supposing that it followed E. On the other hand, if it was subsequent to K, we must postulate a second passage, now lost, intervening between K and F, of which the heretical teachers were the subject.

¹ These words are supplied from the paraphrase in c. 19.

ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς μόνα, ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντος τοῦ ἡμίσεως. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν ἀργυρίοις ἔφασκον ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐν διατιμῇσει γῆς πλέθρων τριάκοντα ἐννέα μόνων, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀναφέρειν, καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτουργοῦντας διατρέφεσθαι.

I. *H. E.* iii. 20, §§ 5-7 :

[Ἐἶτα δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδεικνύναι, μαρτύριον τῆς αὐτουργίας τὴν τοῦ σώματος σκληρίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐργασίας ἐναποτυπωθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων χειρῶν τύλους παριστάντας. Ἐρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ὅποια τις εἶη καὶ ποῖ καὶ πότε φανησομένη, λόγον δοῦναι, ὡς οὐ κοσμικὴ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπίγειος, ἐπουράνιος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνει, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος γενησομένη, ὅπηνίκα ἐλθὼν ἐν δόξῃ κρινεῖ ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ.¹ Ἐφ' οἷς μὴδὲν αὐτῶν κατεγνωκότα τὸν Δομετιανὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐτελῶν καταφρονήσαντα, ἐλευθέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνείναι, καταπαῦσαι δὲ διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμόν.]

K. *H. E.* iii. 32, § 6 :

Ἐρχονται οὖν καὶ προηγούνται πάσης ἐκκλησίας ὡς μάρτυρες, καὶ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου. Καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης βαθείας ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ μένουσι μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος. Μέχρις οὐδ' ἐκ θείου τοῦ κυρίου ὁ προειρημένος Συμεὼν υἱὸς Κλωπᾶ, συκοφαντηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων, ὡσαύτως κατηγορήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ. Καὶ ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αἰκιζόμενος, ἐμαρτύρησεν, ὡς πάντας ὑπερθαυμάζειν, καὶ τὸν ὑπατικὸν, πῶς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τυγχάνων ἐτῶν ὑπέμεινε. καὶ ἐκελεύσθη σταυρωθῆναι.

L. *H. E.* iii. 32, § 2 :

[τῷ τοῦ κυρίου πάθει παραπλήσιον τέλος ἀπηνέγκατο.]

M. *H. E.* iii. 32, § 4 :

[(Φησὶ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς) ὡς ἄρα καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροὺς αὐτοῦ, ζητουμένων τότε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς Ἰουδαίων φυλῆς, ὡσὰν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὄντας, ἀλῶναι συνέβη.]

¹ Οὐ κοσμική, κτλ., are perhaps the *ipsissima verba* of Eusebius' authority.

On these passages the first remark to be made is that H, I, K are unquestionably successive. H, I are immediately followed in iii. 20 by a paraphrase of the first two sentences of K, while in iii. 32 K is preceded by a paraphrase of H, I. Again K is paraphrased in iii. 32, § 2 in conjunction with F, an interesting example of the omission by Eusebius of a context intervening between two passages, when it suited his purpose.

L I have included, in deference to the remark of Lightfoot,¹ that it is "apparently in the words, or at least according to the sentiment" of Hegesippus. It is certainly in Hegesippus' manner,² but it is also in the manner of many of the early martyrologists, not excepting Eusebius himself, as Lightfoot has shown.³ What I think is of greater weight is the fact that a remark of the kind is not likely to have been *added* by Eusebius in a paraphrase of an early document. In his paraphrase of the earlier part of the *Epistle of the Smyrnaeans* on the Martyrdom of Polycarp, for example, he several times makes slight additions to the narrative⁴; but it is noteworthy that he regularly omits comparisons between the sufferings of the Smyrnaean martyrs and the Passion of our Lord.⁵ If the words, are really taken from Hegesippus, they undoubtedly followed K.

About the position of M I do not feel so confident. But it seems evident that it must have followed either F or K (L).

Assuming then that H, I, K, L, M are consecutive the question remains, Where should they be placed in our series? There appears to be no position which can be assigned to them earlier than F. But that they may have

¹ *Ignatius*, vol. i. p. 596.

11, §§ 1, 24.

² See Eus. *H. E.* ii. 23, §§ 10, 11, 16, and Lightfoot, *l.c.*

⁴ See e. g. *H. E.* iv. 15, §§ 10, 11 = *Mar. Pol.* 5, 6).

³ Lightfoot quotes *Mart. Pal.* 6, § 5; to which may be added *ib.* 8, §§ 10, 11;

⁵ Compare *H. E.* iv. 15, §§ 11, 12, with *Mar. Pol.* 6, 7.

followed F at no long interval seems very probable. We may suppose the sequence of thought to have been of this kind. Hegesippus gave an account of the episcopate of Symeon, ending with a short statement of the issue of the malice of the heretical informers. This involved the assertion that the main charge against him was his connexion with the family of David. Now this was a charge which many of his readers might not understand. It was probably unique in the annals of martyrdom that a Christian should be put to death on such a pretext. It was necessary therefore for Hegesippus to show that his narrative was not encumbered with an improbability. He had to find other cases in which trials took place on the charge of relationship to the Jewish Royal Family. He appeals to the treatment of the grandsons of Judas by Domitian. And having cited this case he returns once more to the incidents of the martyrdom.

That this was the real significance of the narrative of the grandsons of Judas seems to be indicated by the phrase ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ¹ in K. And if our supposition is correct, we may place G before H with considerable confidence. It was the first of Hegesippus' precedents—apparently the only case of the kind under Vespasian of which he knew. It is followed by a similar incident under Domitian; and so we are naturally led to the prosecution of Symeon under Trajan.

To the list of passages relating to the Church in Palestine, one, or even two others, ought perhaps to be added. We need not regard the statement of Jerome that Hegesippus brought down his narrative to his own day as

¹ Valois takes this to mean "quod Christi fidem praedicaret": but I do not think his reference to the use of the same words in a wholly different context (*H. E.* ii. 23) will carry con-

viction. It appears obviously here to signify, "on the same charge as the grandsons of Judas," *i.e.* of relationship to David.

founded on more knowledge than we ourselves possess. But he certainly did so in the case of the Roman and probably in the case of the Corinthian Church.¹ There appears no reason to think that he acted otherwise with regard to Jerusalem. If this be so, the *Memoirs* may very probably have included a list of the Jewish Bishops of that city,² as well as of the Gentile Bishops of its successor Aelia.³ The chronology of the former succession Eusebius did not know,⁴ but from written documents⁵ he had evidence that they were short-lived. A simple list of fifteen bishops in twenty-eight years would probably be held by him to be sufficient evidence of that fact. But if Eusebius copied the names of the bishops of Jerusalem from Hegesippus, there is no doubt he had access to other sources of information on this subject. He alludes to more than one succession list (διαδοχαί) preserved there in his own day.⁶

Having collected and placed in order these passages, it is now possible to indicate the bearing of this page of history on Hegesippus' argument against his heretical opponents. Among these with whom he contended, as Eusebius implies,⁷ were the Saturnilians, Basilidians and Carpocratians, with possibly the Simonians and Menandrianists. All these were the offspring, according to Hegesippus, of the seven Jewish sects.⁸ Accordingly he shows, in the

¹ *H. E.* iv. 22. I read διαδοχήν, and translate 'list of successive bishops.' Those who object to this rendering of διαδοχήν, and would in consequence remove a word supported by every primary authority from the text, should consider not only the parallel cited by Lightfoot (*H. E.* v. 5: see *Clement* vol. i. p. 328), but also *H. E.* v. 12, where Mr. M'Giffert conveniently renders μεθ' ὃν ἐπισκοπεῦσαι Κασσιανὸν αἱ τῶν αὐτῶν διαδοχαὶ περιέχουσιν by "After him the succession in the episcopate was: first

Cassian!"

² *H. E.* iv. 5.

³ *H. E.* iv. 6; v. 12. Compare Zahn, p. 287. Readers of Zahn's discussion will remember that he does not admit that Hegesippus drew up a list of the Roman bishops.

⁴ *H. E.* iv. 5.

⁵ *Ib.* Κομιδῇ γὰρ οὐκ βραχυβίους αὐτοὺς λόγος κατέχει γενέσθαι.

⁶ *H. E.* v. 12; *Dem. Evan.* iii. 5; *Theoph.* v. 45.

⁷ *H. E.* iv. 7, § 15; 8, § 1.

⁸ *H. E.* iv. 22, § 5.

passages quoted above, the evil deeds of their progenitors. They were the informers at whose instance the trial of the two grandsons of Judas was held¹; they brought about the death of Symeon.² Again, a stock argument with controversial writers on the orthodox side was the recent origin of heresy, as contrasted with the deposit handed down from the Apostles by the regular episcopal succession. So Hegesippus shows that heresy first sprang into avowed existence in the Church of Jerusalem under Thebuthis, in the time of Symeon, and when apostolic oversight was no longer exercised over the Church.³ On the other hand, James the Just was appointed first bishop by the Apostles⁴; Symeon succeeded him in due order, elected by the surviving disciples of the Lord, with apostolic sanction.⁵

There is one passage which can certainly be ascribed to Hegesippus which I have omitted to consider in this note. It is that in which he mentions his journey to Rome, and his stay there and at Corinth.⁶ That it belonged to the fifth *Memoir* appears likely; but a treatment of the question could lead to no sure result, and it would involve a discussion of certain supposed references to Hegesippus in Epiphanius,⁷ which would carry me far beyond the necessary limits of the present paper.

¹ *H. E.* iii. 19 *sq.* (H above).

⁶ *H. E.* iv. 22.

² *H. E.* iii. 32 (F above).

³ *H. E.* iii. 32; iv. 22 (D and the omitted portion of E above).

⁴ *H. E.* ii. 23 (A above).

⁵ *H. E.* iv. 22; iii. 11 (BC above).

⁷ Lightfoot, *Clement of Rome*, vol. i., p. 327 *sqq.* Harnack in *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 17 Juli 1892, p. 639 *sqq.*; Zahn, p. 258 *sqq.*

II.—SOME CHRONOLOGICAL ERRORS.

An important section of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* is based upon documents which he had himself gathered—the letters of Origen, of which he possessed over a hundred. These, he tells us, he procured from various quarters and bound in volumes.¹ The volumes of Origen's letters in Eusebius' library remind us of the countless volumes of pamphlets, so interesting to the historian, which find a home in our great modern collections. It may very well be that they were but specimens of many similar volumes of the minor writings of early authors, stored in the two libraries which supplied him with materials for his work, those of Pamphilus at Caesarea,² and of Alexander at Jerusalem.³ It may not be without instruction to search through his *History* for evidence of the use of such volumes of tracts.

1. We may begin with an instance which will scarcely be disputed. It was a volume of *Acts of Martyrs*, and contained the following:—(1) *The Epistle of the Smyrnaeans on the Martyrdom of Polycarp*; (2) *The Acts of Metrodorus and Pionius*; (3) *The Acts of Carpus, Papylus and Agathonice*.⁴ That these were all bound in a single volume (γραφή), and that Eusebius refers to them in the order in which they occurred in it, is evident from his own words. After paraphrasing the first seven chapters of the Letter of the Smyrnaeans, and quoting nearly the whole of the remainder, he proceeds,⁵ Ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῇ καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια συνῆπτο . . . μεθ' ὧν καὶ Μητροδώρου . . . πύρι παραδοθεὶς ἀνήρηται. Τῶν γε μὴν τότε περιβύητος

¹ *H. E.* vi. 36, ὡν ὀρέσας σκορδαίνον παρὰ διαφόροις σωθείσας συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα, ἐν ἰδίαις τόμων περιγραφαῖς . . . κατελέξαμεν, τὸν ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαινούσας.

² *H. E.* vi. 32.

³ *H. E.* vi. 20.

⁴ *H. E.* iv. 15.

⁵ *Ib.* §§ 46–48.

μάρτυς εἰς τις ἐγνωρίζετο Πιόνιος . . . Ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ ἄλλων . . . ὑπομνήματα μεμαρτυρηκότων φέρεται, Κάρπου καὶ Παπύλου, καὶ γυναικὸς Ἀγαθονίκης. Here then we recognise one volume which lay before the historian as he wrote; and it is important to observe his method in dealing with it. In the course of his narrative he has touched upon most of the prominent ecclesiastics who flourished under Antoninus Pius. Before passing on to the times of Marcus Aurelius he extracts a passage from Irenaeus giving an account of Polycarp.¹ Then, having recorded the accession of Aurelius,² he goes on to describe Polycarp's martyrdom, which, according to his chronology, took place in this reign. For an account of this event he has recourse to the volume which we are now considering. Its first treatise suffices for his immediate purpose; but having opened the book he does not again close it till he has given a list of the remaining tracts included in it. The *Acts of Pionius* had for him a special interest,³ and he is therefore not content with merely mentioning it, but adds a summary of its contents. This order of proceeding is similar, as we shall see, to that which he adopts in other cases.

The other volumes of tracts, as we suspect them to be, used by Eusebius, may be noticed in the order in which they are alluded to in the *History*.

2. *H. E.* ii. 18, §§ 6, 7. *Three works of Philo.*—Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον. Ὡς ἐξῆς ἐστὶν ὁ περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι. Μεθ' οὗς συντίθεται αὐτῶ ὁ περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἡ ἱκετών. The words printed in spaced type indicate that these three treatises were comprised in one volume.

It may be that this was not the only set of Philo's writings which Eusebius found collected in a volume. The series which we have just noticed is separated from a

¹ *H. E.* iv. 14.

² *Ib.* § 10.

³ He included them in his *Book of Martyrdoms*, *H. E.* iv. 15, § 47.

preceding group of tracts (μονόβιβλα) by the phrase ἐπὶ τούτοις. Another group (§ 5), introduced with the words πρὸς τούτοις, consists of discussions on the Book of Exodus. While another (§§ 3, 4) yields five treatises on Genesis—πρὸς τούτοις ὁ περὶ, κτλ. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν—other works on Genesis having been previously mentioned.

3. *H. E.* iv. 11–13; 16–18. *Works of Justin Martyr*.—This volume contained the following:—(1) The treatise (or treatises) *Adv. Graecos*; (2) *Apol.* i.; (3) The Epistle of Marcus Aurelius addressed to the Commune Asiae; (4) *Apol.* ii. Let it just be remarked that if we are right in supposing that these tracts were collected in one volume the procedure of Eusebius with regard to Justin is similar to that which he followed in the case of Polycarp. He mentions two prominent writers of the time of Pope Anicetus, Hegesippus and Justin, and cites a passage from each which fixes his date.¹ For the latter writer the passage is taken from the first Apology. The volume containing it is open, and therefore having made his extract, Eusebius proceeds to give an account of its contents. He names (1) and (2), from the latter of which he makes a further extract; he transcribes (3), which he ascribes to Antoninus Pius. Having got so far, his description is interrupted, for (4) does not (as he supposes) belong to the reign of Pius, of which he is at the moment treating, but to that of his successor. Hence the account of Polycarp is inserted, as it were parenthetically. This finished, he returns to Justin in ch. 16, mentioning (4), and making from it a lengthy quotation. The parallelism of all this to his treatment of Polycarp and the others mentioned along with him, lends a certain probability to our hypothesis. But it is supported by other considerations. In the first place, why is Justin's work against the Greeks

¹ *H. E.* iv. 11. §§ 7–9.

mentioned in iv. 11? It has no obvious relevance to the context; it is not a book which had any special attraction for Eusebius, since he makes no extract from it, and gives no account of its argument; and it is named again in its proper place in ch. 18, where a formal list is given of the writings of its author. Our answer is simple. It stood first in the volume which Eusebius was using at the time, and therefore, according to his habit, he named it in connexion with the other more important treatises with which it was bound. Again, if Eusebius found (2), (3), (4) succeeding one another in this order, his manuscript of these writings resembled the only known extant manuscripts which contain them. The two complete copies of the Apologies of Justin insert after the first the letter of Marcus Aurelius (followed by another spurious imperial epistle).¹ And lastly, our hypothesis partially removes a difficulty which has perplexed critics. Eusebius is so apparently contradictory in his references to Justin's Apologies that some writers have contended that what he names the *Second Apology* is a lost work, and that our first and second apologies were by him regarded as a single treatise and called the *First Apology*. This indeed appears, on any showing, very unlikely, since in *H. E.* iv. 16 he quotes from our *Second Apology*, and expressly tells us that his extract is from "the second book on behalf of our doctrines."² But what are the arguments on the other side? They are two in number. In iv. 8, after quoting from the *First Apology*, he introduces an extract from the second with the words ἐν ταύτῃ . . . ταῦτα γράφει, which has been rendered, "In the same work," &c. But there seems

¹ Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum*, vol. i., p. xxi, sqq. The mss. referred to are not independent of one another. The order in them is (4), (2), (3); and there is evidence that in other manuscripts the two Apologies were transposed.

Ib., p. xxviii, sq.

² This is explained away, not very satisfactorily, by making the words ἐν τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ ἀπολογίᾳ in § 2 refer, not to the work mentioned in § 1, but to the *First Apology*, quoted in ch. 13.

to be no need to translate the words in this way. May we not understand some such word as βιβλίω¹ after ταύτῃ, and translate, 'In the same *volume*?' There remains only iv. 17, where ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀπολογίᾳ is certainly intended to refer to (our) *Second Apology*. We cannot safely build a theory on such a slender foundation. We may suppose that προτέρα is a slip either of Eusebius or of a scribe, or that it is to be taken in an unusual sense, as equivalent to δεδηλωμένη.

4. *H. E.* iv. 23. *The Epistles of Dionysius of Corinth*.—Seven 'Catholic' Epistles are mentioned, and a letter addressed to a lady named Chrysophora. It has been remarked² that, in a note appended (as it seems) to the letter to the Romans, Dionysius complains that his epistles had been tampered with by heretics; that two of them are addressed to Churches in Crete, and that these are not named consecutively; from which the inference is drawn, "that the letters had already been collected into a volume, and that they are enumerated by Eusebius in the order in which he found them there." I confess that, while admiring the acuteness of the argument, I was not at first convinced by it. But the scale is turned when we find it confirmed by the words of Eusebius himself. After describing five of the letters, he introduces the sixth with the words ταύταις ἄλλη ἐγκατείλεκται . . . ἐπιστολή.³ The verb seems naturally to imply a volume. A cognate word is used elsewhere of a treatise which Eusebius included in his lost book of Acts of Martyrdom.⁴ If the Epistles of Dionysius were already gathered into a volume in the lifetime of their writer, it would appear that additions had been made to the collection before it fell into the hands of Eusebius. In the volume

¹ Cf. *H. E.* v. 20, and below, p. 49, note ².

² *Dict. Christ. Biog.* i. 849.

³ § 7.

⁴ *H. E.* v. 4, δ (sc. σύγγραμμα) καὶ αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν μαρτυρίων συναγωγῇ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὥς γοῦν ἔφην, κατείλεκται. Compare iii. 24 *init.*; 37 (*al.* 38); vi. 36.

which he used the sixth Catholic Epistle seems to have been followed by the reply to it, addressed to Dionysius by Pinytus, Bishop of the Cnossians, a paraphrased extract from which is given by Eusebius,¹ and at the end, after the note of Dionysius already referred to, came the letter to Chrysophora.

5. *H. E.* iv. 26. *Works of Melito of Sardis*.—As in the case of the writings of Philo, discussed above, Eusebius seems to divide those of Melito into several groups, which may very possibly represent separate volumes. The several groups are indicated, as before, by the connecting particles. Μερίτωνος τὰ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δύο καὶ τὰ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ προφητῶν, κτλ. ἔτι δὲ ὁ περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὁ περὶ πλάσεως, κτλ. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἢ νοῦς καὶ ὁ περὶ λουτροῦ, κτλ. καὶ λόγος αὐτοῦ περὶ προφητείας καὶ ὁ περὶ φιλοξενίας, κτλ. ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον βιβλίδιον. The first three groups apparently contain four treatises each, the last group six. After giving this list as a complete enumeration of the works of Melito known to him,² Eusebius proceeds to quote from the first and last of the series, and then makes an extract from Melito's *Selections* (ἱκλογαί), a work not included in his list. The explanation which may be suggested of this discrepancy is of this kind. By the writings of Melito which had come to his knowledge, Eusebius meant those which lay in one of the libraries to which he had constant access. The extract from the *Selections* may have been made from a copy borrowed from a friend, or may have been taken at second hand from an earlier writer.

6. *H. E.* vi. 22. *Works of Hippolytus*.—Of the writings of this famous person, Eusebius confesses that he had but little knowledge. He enumerates seven as having come into his hands, but adds that a very large number of others

¹ § 8.

² τούτων (sc. Μερίτωνος καὶ Ἀπολλι-

ναρίου) εἰς ἡμετέραν γνῶσιν ἀφίκεται τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα.

were preserved by various owners. The seven which he mentions are these:—(1) *On the Hexaemeron*, (2) *On the things following the Hexaemeron*, (3) *Against Marcion*, (4) *On the Song of Solomon*, (5) *On parts of Ezekiel*, (6) *Concerning Easter*, (7) *Against all Heresies*. All these are lost or imperfectly known, but the last was a short work,¹ and there seems no reason why all should not have been included in one volume. Before giving the list Eusebius mentions the Paschal Cycle of Hippolytus, professing to derive his information about it from the book *Concerning Easter*. It was, in fact, the circumstance that this work could be assigned to the reign of Alexander Severus, that led Eusebius to mention it in this place. Having named it, he proceeds, *more suo*, to give the contents of the volume in which he found it. It is not without significance that he introduces his list with the words, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶ τὰδε, and then, with the others, mentions the treatise περὶ τοῦ πάσχα again.

7. *H. E.* vi. 43. *Letters on the Schism of Novatian*.—These seem to have been four in number—(1) A letter² from Cornelius of Rome to Fabius of Antioch, telling of the proceedings at Rome, and throughout Italy and Africa, against Novatian; (2) A letter³ from Cyprian, in the Latin language, urging mild treatment of the lapsed and the excommunication of Novatian; (3) A letter⁴ from Cornelius, giving the acts of a synod; (4) A letter⁵ from the same to Fabius, recounting the doings of Novatian and others, from which copious extracts are given. But were these contained in a single volume? This seems to be clearly implied by the words used with reference to the third and fourth epistles: Ταύταις ἄλλη τις ἐπιστολὴ συνῆπτο

¹ Βιβλιδάριον, Photius, *Bibl.* 121.

it, *De Vir.* III. 66.

² ἐπιστολαί, which may mean one letter. See Lightfoot, *Ignat.*, vol. ii., pp. 911, 932. Jerome so understood

³ ἄλλαι.

⁴ ἄλλη τις ἐπιστολή.

⁵ ἑτέρα.

. . . καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα. We have already noticed the similar use of συνήπτο in a like connexion.¹ And other indications point to the same conclusion. Only the first and fourth epistles are directly stated to have been addressed to Fabius, and he can hardly have been the recipient of the third, which must have covered much the same ground as the first. Eusebius, if he had been arranging the letters for himself, would naturally have brought the first and fourth together. No less natural would it have been to name together the three written by Cornelius, but, in fact, between two of them intervenes the letter of Cyprian. We infer, as we did in a former case,² that the historian follows the order of the volume which lay before him.

8. *H. E.* vi. 44-46. *Letters of Dionysius of Alexandria on the same subject.*—In chapter 44 a letter from Dionysius to Fabius is mentioned and quoted, from which extracts had already been made in chapters 41, 42. Then follows, in chapter 45, a short letter to Novatian, seemingly given in full. Immediately connected with this is chapter 46, beginning Γράφει δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστολὴν περὶ μετανοίας, which letter to the Egyptians is the first of a list of thirteen or fourteen epistles occupying the entire chapter. The list professes to be a complete one, for the heading of the chapter is περὶ τῶν ἄλλων Διονυσίου ἐπιστολῶν. It is therefore with no little surprise that we read the words with which the chapter closes: καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πλείοσιν ὁμοίως, κτλ. And it is with equal surprise that we find numerous allusions, in the next book of the *History*, to letters of Dionysius not mentioned here, and even from time to time formal lists of them. How is the inconsistency to be explained? Easily enough. The list in *H. E.* vi. 46 is a complete enumeration of the letters *in a single volume*. Those alluded to at the end of the chapter,

¹ Above, p. 29.

² Above, p. 33.

and catalogued elsewhere, belonged to other volumes. With this conclusion agree the words used of the fourth and fifth letters in chapter 46, Ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ περὶ μαρτυρίου πρὸς τὸν Ὀριγένην γραφεῖσα καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Λαοδίκειαν ἀδελφοῖς. Ἐν τούτοις implies a definite collection of documents, which would probably be bound in a volume.

9. *H. E.* vii. 2-9. *Letters of Dionysius of Alexandria on Baptism.*—The seven letters mentioned in these chapters are numbered :

Cap. 2. Τούτῳ (sc. Στεφάνῳ) τὴν πρώτην ὁ Διονύσιος τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολῶν διατυπῶται . . . Cap. 5. Τούτῳ (sc. Ἐύστῳ) δευτέραν . . . Cap. 7. καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἦν Φιλήμονι τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην πρεσβυτέρῳ ὁ αὐτὸς γράφει Διονύσιος . . . Ἡ τετάρτη αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐγράφη Διονύσιον, τότε μὲν πρεσβείου ἡξιωμένον . . . Cap. 9. καὶ ἡ πέμπτη δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπον Εὐστόν ἐγέγραπτο . . . Ἐπὶ ταῖς προειρημέναις φέρεται τις καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολή . . . Εὐστῷ καὶ τῇ κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐκκλησίᾳ προσπεφωνημένη . . . καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τις αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταύτας φέρεται πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥώμην Διονύσιον, ἡ περὶ Λουκιανοῦ.

No explanation of these numbers is so plausible as that which regards them as indicating the order of succession of the letters in a volume. It might have been thought, indeed, that a chronological arrangement was intended. But this appears to be negatived by the fact that the third and fourth letters of the series are alluded to in the second.¹ It should also be noticed, that Eusebius abandons his usual rule of the chronological treatment of history, in order to bring these letters together. All, except the first, third, and fourth, must have been written after the accession of Valerian, which is not mentioned till chap. 10.

¹ *H. E.* vii. 5. 6, καὶ τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ συμπρεσβυτέροις Διονυσίῳ καὶ Φιλήμονι, συμψήφοις πρότερον Στεφάνῳ γενομένοις . . . πρότερον μὲν ὀλίγα,

καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ πλείονων ἐπέστειλα. At least two of the four letters here mentioned seem to have been written during the pontificate of Stephen.

10. *H. E.* vii. 20-23. *Festal Epistles of Dionysius of Alexandria*.—Under this head a catalogue of ten letters is given, but Eusebius intimates that his list is not complete. It will conduce to clearness if it is reproduced in his own words, some things being omitted, and numerals being added:—

Cap. 20. Ὁ γε μὴν Διονύσιος πρὸς ταῖς δηλωθείσαις ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ ἔτι καὶ τὰς φερομένας ἑορταστικὰς τοτηνικαῖτα συντάττει . . . Τούτων (1) τὴν μὲν Φλαουτῷ προσφωνεῖ, (2) τὴν δὲ Δομετίῳ καὶ Διδύμῳ . . . πρὸς ταύταις καὶ (3) ἄλλην τοῖς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συμπρεσβυτέροις ἐπιστολὴν διαχαράττει, ἐτέροις τε ὁμοῦ διαφόρως, καὶ ταύτας ἔτι τοῦ διωγμοῦ συνεστῶτος. Cap. 21. Ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ ὅσον οὕτω τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπάνεισι μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· πάλιν δ' ἐνταῦθα στάσεως καὶ πολέμου συστάντος . . . (4) διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτοῖς (*sc.* τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασιν ἀδελφοῖς) ὠμίλει. καὶ (5) Ἰέρακι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπισκόπῳ ἐτέραν ἑορταστικὴν ἐπιστολὴν γράφων . . . [Extract] . . . Cap. 22. Μετὰ ταῦτα λοιμικῆς τὸν πόλεμον διαλαβούσης νόσου . . . (6) αὐθις διὰ γραφῆς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὠμίλει . . . [Extracts] . . . Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, εἰρηνευσάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, (7) τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀδελφοῖς ἑορταστικὴν αὐθις ἐπιστέλλει γραφὴν, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἄλλας διαφόρους πάλιν διατυπῶνται. Φέρεται δέ (8) τις αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ σαββατοῦ καὶ (9) ἄλλη περὶ γυμνασίου. Cap. 23. (10) Ἑρμάμμωνι δὲ πάλιν καὶ τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀδελφοῖς δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὁμιλῶν πολλά τε ἄλλα περὶ τῆς Δεκίου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν διεξελθόντων κακοτροπίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν Γαλλικὸν εἰρήνης ὑπομνησκέται. . . . [Extracts.]

The last of these epistles is not expressly stated by Eusebius to have been festal in character. But the closing words of his second extract from it put the matter almost beyond question: ἐν ᾧ (*sc.* ἐνιαυτῷ) ἡμεῖς ἑορτάσωμεν.¹

Very noteworthy is the phrase in the opening sentence of this list: πρὸς ταῖς δηλωθείσαις ἐπιστολαῖς. It might be supposed that the reference was to the numerous letters

¹ So Dittrich, *Dionysius d. grösser*. 1867, p. 119.

alluded to in earlier chapters, and especially in those more immediately preceding. Such, for example, are the letters to Hermammon, and to Domitius and Didymus, quoted in vii. 10, 11, and that headed *πρὸς Γερμανόν*, from which extracts are given in the latter of these chapters. But this is impossible. For two of these are actually named in the list itself, and we shall presently give reason for supposing the third to be also included. The "fore-mentioned epistles" must therefore mean those formally enumerated in the lists already considered. This appears to be indicated further by the tense—*δηλωθείσαις* for the more usual *δεδηλωμέναις*. We have in this phrase, therefore, a confirmation of the conclusion already reached, that these lists are exhaustive enumerations of definite collections of letters, and an encouragement to think that the list now before us may be another of the same kind.

It has been hinted that the epistle *πρὸς Γερμανόν* is probably one of those indicated in our list. The title is ambiguous, but the tenor of one of the extracts from it (the third in vii. 11), in which Germanus is spoken of contemptuously in the third person, makes it difficult to believe that the epistle was addressed to him. We may therefore render its heading '*Against Germanus.*' To whom then was it sent? The concluding clause of the same passage seems to give a hint as to the answer to this question. After alluding to his sufferings under Valerian, Dionysius adds, *διὸ καὶ τὴν καθ' ἑκαστον τῶν γενομένων διήγησιν παρήμι τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἀδελφοῖς λέγειν*. The letter would appear to have been written to certain brethren who had knowledge, or easy means of gaining knowledge, of what he had endured in the recent troubles. They must have been Egyptians. They probably lived in Alexandria, or its neighbourhood. The letter may therefore be identical with (3), (4), or (7) in the list.

If this guess be correct—and only less so if it be not—

and if the Festal Epistles formed a separate volume, it clearly appears that Eusebius deals with this volume just as he dealt with that containing the martyrdom of Polycarp. In recording the incidents of the persecution of Valerian he has occasion to use three of these letters. Extracts from them are accordingly given in chaps. 10, 11. Then, after some further remarks of a desultory kind, he proceeds to give a list of the contents of the volume, making extracts from, or remarks upon, several of the letters which it contains as he goes along. But perhaps the most convincing indication that we have here a *volume* of letters is the fact that, in dealing with these epistles, Eusebius makes mistakes which we might expect him to make if they were bound together, but which are almost inexplicable otherwise. Of these mistakes, some account will be rendered below.

11. *H. E.* vii. 26. *Epistles of Dionysius of Alexandria on the Sabellian Heresy*.—The 24th and 25th chapters of the seventh book of the *History* are devoted to a consideration of the controversy between Dionysius and the Egyptian bishop Nepos on the subject of Chiliasm. The outcome of the discussion was a treatise in two books, entitled *Concerning Promises*, from the pen of Dionysius, several fragments of which have been preserved by Eusebius. It appears to have been a long and elaborate work, and may well have been bound in a volume apart. But in the 26th chapter we come upon another group of minor writings. About these Eusebius is reticent; perhaps because they were connected with a passage in Dionysius' life upon which he did not wish to dwell. The group consists of four letters on Sabellianism to different (probably all Egyptian) bishops, and four letters to Dionysius of Rome on the same topic. These eight may have made a volume. With the mention of them and three other works which he knew, and a general reference to many

other epistles, the catalogue of the works of Dionysius ends.

We have now found traces of some eleven volumes of tracts of which Eusebius appears to have made use. The existence of some of them, no doubt, may be disputed; but it must be remembered that our argument has been in some sense cumulative. If the *a priori* likelihood that such volumes were in his hands is admitted, evidence of their use in particular cases is worth considering which might otherwise have been ruled out, and the better attested instances increase the probability of our conclusion where positive evidence is scanty.

But it is now time to show in what way these volumes influenced the chronology of our historian. The principle on which the documents were grouped, in the cases which we have examined, seems to be mainly an arrangement according to subjects, no attention having been paid to chronology. But certainly in one instance, probably in others, if not in all, Eusebius assumed that the principle was the exact contrary, and hence he was led into error as regards dates.

This is manifest upon a consideration of his use of the volume containing the Martyrdom of Polycarp.¹ He quite unmistakably makes Pionius and Metrodorus contemporaries of Polycarp. But the Acts of their martyrdoms are in our hands, and we learn from them that they suffered a century after Polycarp, under Decius. The conclusion is forced upon us, that Eusebius regarded the martyrdoms as synchronous, merely because the records of them were bound together. Lightfoot, indeed, suggests that the *Acts* themselves may have been partly responsible for his error. He uses the phrase ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περιόδου τοῦ χρόνου, which he may have taken from them. Capable as it is of two meanings, either 'at the same time,' or

¹ See Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 624 *sqq.*, 696 *sqq.*, and Valois, *ad loc.*

'at the same season of the year,' Eusebius may have taken it in the former sense, while the martyrologist used it in the latter. He may also have been misled by the opening statement, that Pionius was celebrating the birthday of Polycarp. This explanation might serve if we had only Pionius and Metrodorus to deal with. But what shall we say about Carpus and the rest? Here again we can consult the genuine *Acts*. From a careful examination of the slight indications of date which they supply, Lightfoot gathers that Carpus and Papyrus probably suffered either under Marcus Aurelius, or under Septimius Severus. So that in this case Eusebius' date may be correct. But the chronological data of the *Acta* are very meagre. If Eusebius had noticed them at all, which does not seem likely, he could scarcely have made use of them. They would reveal nothing to one who was not pretty familiar with the history of the Antonine emperors. His mistakes in regard to them are portentous, as we shall just now see in one striking instance. Here at least, then, it seems impossible to suppose that his chronology had any better foundation than the whim of the librarian who arranged his volume of tracts.

Let us turn now to another case, in which Eusebius has admittedly gone astray in a date. He places the second *Apology* of Justin Martyr, and consequently his martyrdom, which he believed to have occurred shortly after it was written, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. But internal evidence marks the second *Apology* as very little later in date than the first, and as presented to the same emperors,¹ while the *Acta Justiniani*, even if they be not admitted to be genuine, give us good reason for believing that he suffered after the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius.² How,

¹ *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* iii. 563 sq.

² *Ib.*, pp. 562, 564. It is hardly possible to suppose that the name of the prefect Rusticus is an invention,

and if it be true that Justin suffered under him, the date of the martyrdom is brought down to A.D. 163 at the earliest.

then, did the error of the historian arise? It can be explained without difficulty if we suppose that Eusebius used the volume which we have marked 3 above, and assumed that the documents which it contains were arranged in chronological order. He had before him the *First Apology*, which he put under Antoninus Pius. It was followed by the spurious letter to the Commune Asiae. To whom was it to be referred? To be sure, it had the name of Marcus Aurelius in its first line. But this had evidently no weight with Eusebius, and naturally so, for readers of the *History* are well aware that he did not know the imperial name of this emperor. He had to decide the matter on other grounds. Suppose then he gave it to Marcus Aurelius, he is at once in difficulties. Marcus Aurelius was a persecutor. He could not have penned such a letter. But if he did, how could the second apology have followed it, with its tale of the sufferings of the Christians quoted in *H. E.* iv. 17? And how could Justin himself have been shortly afterwards put to death? So the epistle to the Commune must be assigned to the reign of Pius. It is there in its right place, for *Pius did not persecute*.¹ And for the same reason, the subsequent *Apology* and martyrdom must be thrown forward into the following reign. If Eusebius reasoned in this way as to the dates of the letter to the Commune Asiae and the *Second Apology*, the further step was easy of connecting the First Apology with the letter in the way of cause and effect. And this step he seems to have taken; for, after quoting the first sentence of the *Apology*, ending with the words τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἔντευξιν πεποίημαι, he proceeds, Ἐντευχθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὑφ' ἐτέρων ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀδελφῶν . . . τοιαύτης ἤξιωσε τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας διατάξω. That there had been several ἐντεύξεις besides that of Justin he may

¹ The only martyrdom under Pius first year of his reign (*H. E.* iv. 10). recorded by Eusebius, is that of Pope This martyrdom is not mentioned in Telesphorus, which he assigns to the *Chronicon*.

have gathered from the letter itself: καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλοὶ ἐσήμαναν.

It is well known that Eusebius is guilty of an extraordinary blunder with reference to the persecution of Valerian. He quotes, as giving a narrative of the sufferings of Dionysius during that persecution, two passages from the letter to Domitius and Didymus.¹ We have only to compare the passages quoted with others which he extracts from the epistle against Germanus (*H. E.* vi. 40), to be convinced that Dionysius is speaking, not of what happened to him under Valerian's persecution, but of the events of the earlier persecution of Decius. Possibly a consideration of the volume of Festal Epistles, marked 10 above, may help us to understand how so gross an error was perpetrated. It will be seen that Eusebius dates some of the epistles in that volume with very considerable (if misleading) precision. The three first—to Flavius, to Domitius and Didymus, and to the Alexandrian presbyters—were written while the persecution was proceeding, *i.e.* between A.D. 258 and 260. The next was written at Easter (ἐν τῇ τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῇ),² after Dionysius' return to Alexandria, when the persecution was scarcely over, *i.e.* Easter 261. The letter to Hierax was written μετὰ ταῦτα, and as it was a Festal Epistle, we cannot put it earlier than the period preceding Easter in the following year, A.D. 262. The sixth letter is again μετὰ ταῦτα, which brings us down to A.D. 263. With the phrase μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, applied to the seventh letter, we advance to A.D. 264, within a year of the date given in the *Chronicon* for the death of Dionysius. After this the dates are prudently omitted, except in the case of the tenth epistle, to Hermammon, which is dated by Eusebius, from internal evidence, apparently in 263.

¹ *H. E.* vii. 11.

² Not, as in the case of an ordinary festal epistle, *before* Easter.

It is obvious to remark that, as our author is ten years out in the date of the letter to Domitius, and Didymus, too much reliance need not be placed on his chronology of the others. And indeed it might be plausibly argued that the preposition *μετά* was not intended by him to indicate temporal sequence, but merely order in the volume in which the letters were bound: but unfortunately he definitely connects the letters with successive events. The fourth was penned while sedition and fighting were proceeding, as was the fifth likewise, the sixth during a pestilence which followed the sedition, the seventh when peace was restored. Let us now glance at the fourth and fifth letters. In the former, according to Eusebius (and he is doubtless paraphrasing correctly), the writer mentions that, on account of the sedition, he was obliged to communicate with his flock, not in person, but by letter. In the latter he "mentions the sedition." Here some critics find fault with our historian. "He introduces," says Dr. Bright,¹ "as referring to an Alexandrian sedition, a letter of Dionysius, which evidently refers to an Alexandrian pestilence." But the letter does refer to the sedition more than once. Is not the following unmistakable?—

Πρὸς γοῦν τὰ ἐμαντοῦ σπλάγχνα, τοὺς ὁμοσκήνους καὶ συμψύχους ἀδελφούς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτᾶς ἐκκλησίας, ἐπιστολιμαίων δέομαι γραμμάτων, καὶ ταῦθ' ὅπως διαπεμφαίμην, ἀμήχανον φαίνεται. Ῥῆον γὰρ ἂν τις οὐχ ὅπως εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς περαιωθείη, ἢ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπέλθοι.²

These words so exactly describe the position to which Dionysius was reduced by the sedition when the fourth letter was penned that it seems impossible to believe that the two epistles were separated by an interval of a year. Nevertheless it remains that the main concern of Dionysius

¹ *Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History*, p. l.

² *H. E.* vii. 21, § 3. See also § 4, *ad fin.*

is, in this letter, not the sedition, but the pestilence. The pestilence, however, Eusebius tells us, *followed* the sedition, and was the subject of the sixth letter, A.D. 263. The confusion of all this is manifest. It is now time to make the attempt to unravel it.

Here then is my suggestion. Eusebius took up the volume of Festal Epistles. In one of them he found a definite date. The epistle of Hermammon seems to connect itself with A.D. 263. On the assumption that the arrangement is chronological, this brings all the epistles in the volume into the epoch, the central event of which was the edict of toleration of Gallienus. He turns then to the second epistle, that addressed to Domitius and Didymus. This was evidently written before the persecution to which it refers had concluded. 'Εγὼ δὲ νῦν, says its writer, καὶ Γάϊος καὶ Πέτρος . . . ἐν ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἀνχμηρῷ τῆς Λιβύης τόπῳ κατακεκλεισμεθα. Eusebius accordingly dates it before the end of the persecution of Valerian. But the letters *ex hypothesi* succeeded one another in the order in which they appeared in the volume. Hence the fourth, written as it was from Alexandria, is put at the earliest possible moment after Dionysius' return from banishment. The fifth and sixth follow in successive years, and are attached, as well as might be, to the historical events by which Eusebius supposed that the persecution was followed.

But what were those events? They were easily discovered from the sixth letter. It was evidently written, as Eusebius states, during a pestilence (ἡ νόσος αὐτῆς, vii. 22, § 6), and it refers to past sufferings. First there was a persecution (assumed of course to have been that which happened under Valerian). This was followed by war and famine. Then came a brief period of rest (βραχυάρτης ἀναπνοῆς), and finally the pestilence which was still raging. Between the persecution and the pestilence the fourth and fifth letters must be placed. They are both therefore connected

with the one outstanding event which Eusebius supposed to have marked the interval, the war and famine.

If this suggestion be correct, it will follow that the dates given by Eusebius for the Festal Epistles have no independent value. And even if it be not well-founded, it is difficult to see how, in view of the mistakes which he has certainly made, they can be relied upon, unless they are supported by the internal evidence of the fragments preserved by him : for no portions of these letters are extant besides those which we owe to Eusebius.

Now of the ten Festal Letters no extracts are given by Eusebius from the first, seventh, eighth, and ninth. Their dates are therefore of no importance, and cannot be fixed. The second, to Domitius and Didymus, was written under Decius. Eusebius' date is therefore incorrect. The third, if we may identify it with the Epistle against Germanus, was written while the Valerian persecution was proceeding, for in it Valerian is mentioned (vii. 11, § 8), and Dionysius speaks of the sufferings which he still endures under Valerian's prefect Aemilianus (*ib.* § 18). Here therefore Eusebius is probably correct. We have already given reasons for believing that the fourth and fifth, written as Eusebius rightly says in time of war, were not separated by the interval of a year by which he assumes that they were parted. Whether they are rightly connected with the persecution of Valerian, or should not rather have been placed under Decius or Gallus, must be left an open question. As to the sixth, Eusebius is again right in supposing it to have been penned while Alexandria was suffering from a pestilence. But it seems equally certain that the pestilence is not that which is alluded to in the previous epistles, for in them the pestilence and the war are synchronous, while the sixth letter states that the war was divided from the following pestilence by an interval of rest. If therefore the fourth and fifth letters belong to the

reign of Gallienus, the sixth must be put back to the time of Gallus.

We may now turn to the letters on the Novatianist schism (7). In connexion with this schism, two important synods are mentioned both by Eusebius and by Cyprian—one in Rome, the other in Africa. Which came first? Eusebius seems to imply that the Roman Synod preceded the African: 'Εφ' ᾧ συνόδου μεγίστης ἐπὶ Ῥώμης συγκροτηθείσης, . . . ἰδίως τε κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας τῶν κατὰ χώραν ποιμένων περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διασκεψαμένων, κτλ.—the final phrase being explained lower down by the words τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι χώρας.¹ But, if so, he contradicts Cyprian, who appears to date the African Synod immediately after the close of the Decian persecution, a subsequent letter to Cornelius being followed by the Roman Synod.² Cyprian is, of course, the better authority, and accordingly Hefele puts the African Synod in May, the Roman in October 251.³ Probably Eusebius was misled by finding the letter of Cyprian and the African bishops after that of Cornelius containing the proceedings of the Synod held at Rome, in the volume which he used.

One further remark may be made. If our argument has any force it is always unsafe to rely on the statements of Eusebius as to the relative dates of documents, if there is a reasonable suspicion that the documents in question were bound together in a single volume. Thus, for example, in *H. E.* vii. 9, he seems to say that a letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to his namesake of Rome

¹ vi. 43, §§ 2, 3.

² Ep. 155 (Ed. Hartel, p. 627 sq.): Persecutione sopita cum data esset facultas in unum conueniendi copiosus episcoporum numerus . . . in unum conuenimus . . . Ac si minus sufficiens episcoporum in Africa numerus uideba-

tur, etiam Romam super hac re scripsimus ad Cornelium collegam nostrum, qui et ipse cum plurimis coepiscopis habito concilio in eandem nobiscum sententiam . . . consensit.

³ *Conciliengeschichte*, i. 2. § 5 (E. T. vol. i. p. 94 sqq.).

concerning one Lucianus was subsequent to two written to Pope Xystus. This is, of course, certainly correct if Dionysius was bishop when he received the letter. But our certainty is not increased by the testimony of Eusebius, for two reasons: first, because the letter happens to have followed those addressed to Xystus in our ninth volume; and, secondly, because we cannot be sure that in such a case the words μετὰ ταύτας have a temporal sense. Again stress has been laid on the words in *H. E.* iv. 26. ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον βιβλίδιον as indicating that the *Apology* was Melito's last work.¹ But here again we seem to be dealing with a volume of tracts (5 above), and it is therefore possible that ἐπὶ πᾶσι may mean no more than last of all in the order of arrangement. But if it has a chronological sense it may only express Eusebius' inference from the phenomena of the volume itself.²

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¹ *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* iii. 894.

² It may not be out of place to mention here that an inference has been drawn as to the date of Quadratus bishop of Athens, from the mention of him as a contemporary in a letter of Dionysius of Corinth, reported in *H. E.* iv. 23. Eusebius in the *Chronicon* gives A.D. 171 as the floruit of this Dionysius. But this date appears to have been merely an inference from the only one of the epistles in this volume (4 above) which furnished chronological data (see § 9 *sq.*). We have no right to extend it to another letter in the same volume, though Eusebius may have done so. There is no reason why the letter mentioning Quadratus may not have been written twenty years before the accession of Soter; and if so, the difficulty in identifying Quadratus the bishop with

Quadratus the apologist is much less than it is sometimes assumed to be. Somewhat similar is the statement sometimes made, that the heretic Blastus was contemporary with Florinus, on the ground that Eusebius names them together in *H. E.* v. 20. But it is not improbable that the letter of Irenæus to Blastus is here mentioned immediately before the two to Florinus, merely because it stood first in a volume in which they occupied the second and third places. In that case the adjuration quoted by Eusebius may be regarded as a scribe's note applying to the entire volume (βιβλίον, cf. iv. 23). It is some confirmation of this hypothesis, that Eusebius, after transcribing the note, proceeds to quote, not from the third, but from the second of the tracts referred to.

SOME NOTES ON CICERO'S EPISTLES FROM
57 TO 54 B.C.

Att. iv. 2. 7. *Tusculanum proscripti* : *suburbano facile careo*.

Editors usually add <non> before *facile* with *M*²; and O. E. Schmidt ("Cicero's Villen," p. 35, note 7) reads *Tusculanum proscripti* (sc. *reficiendum*), *suburbano non facile careo*. I think this is an error, and that those editors, who follow Manutius in supposing that Cicero tried to sell his Tusculanum at this time, are right: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 2. 1 (written four months later), *Tusculano emptor nemo fuit. Si condicio valde bona fuerit, fortassis non amittam*.

Q. Fr. ii. 1. 2. *Racilius surrexit, et de iudiciis referre coepit. Marcellinum quidem primum rogavit. Is cum graviter de Clodianis incendiis, trucidationibus, lapidationibus questus esset, sententiam dixit, ut ipse iudices per praetorem urbanum sortiretur; iudicum sortitione facta, comitia haberentur; qui iudicia impedisset, eum contra rempublicam esse facturum.*

The question as regards this passage is, who is *ipse*? Not Clodius, as Drumann, Schütz, and Billerbeck say, for it was a magistrate who allotted the panels. The natural view to take is that it was Marcellinus. As he was consul elect, he was virtually a magistrate. The panels were usually allotted by the quaestors: cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 7. 4, οὐτε γὰρ οἱ ταμίαι, δι' ὧν τὴν ἀποκλήρωσιν τῶν δικαστῶν γενέσθαι ἐχρῆν, ἤρηντο, καὶ ὁ Νέπως ἀπεῖπε τῷ στρατηγῷ μηδέμιαν πρὸ τῆς κληρώσεως αὐτῶν δίκην προσέσθαι. Though this is somewhat out of chronological order where it occurs in

Dio Cassius (who places it before the recall of Cicero), it would seem to have reference to the case we are considering: cp. Mommsen, *St. R.* ii². 572. 1. The aim was that the trials for *vis* should be held before the elections of aediles, so that Clodius, who was accused by Milo of *vis*, but was also a candidate for aedileship, might not, if elected, escape in virtue of his magistracy. But the election of aediles preceded that for quaestors, so that there were no quaestors,¹ and a difficulty arose as to who was to allot the panels for the trials. Naturally it should have been the praetor (cp. *Att.* i. 14. 3) who was to preside at the trial, and who also had the selection of the *Album iudicum* each year (*Cluent.* 121). According to Dio, Nepos, the consul, forbade the praetor to make this allotment (cp. Mommsen, *op. cit.*; i. 248. 4); while Cicero says that Marcellinus, the consul designate (the consuls, as the year was just at a close, may have departed for their provinces) moved that permission be granted him to put the praetor urbanus in motion to have the panels allotted. We should certainly have expected the proposal of a simple motion, directing the praetor to proceed to allotment without the intervention of Marcellinus, so that the suggestion of Manutius, approved by Lambinus and Drumann, ii. 320, *ut ipse iudices praetor urbanus sortiretur* (where *ipse* = without the assistance of the quaestors), would deserve adoption² were it not so far from the manuscript tradition. The action of Marcellinus would be merely formal, and the possible reason why he asked to have a part in the business was that it might be put in hands without undue delay.

¹ The late quaestors had, according to rule, vacated their office on December 5.

² It is adopted by Lange, *Röm. Alt.* iii. 319, who assigns the alteration to Eigenbrod. It is possible that a ditto-

graphy may have arisen from the similarity of the contractions of *per* and *prae*: and once *per* appeared in the text, the nominative *praetor urbanus* would soon be changed into the accusative.

Q. Fr. ii. 1. 3. Tum Clodius rogatus diem dicendo eximere coepit. Furebat a Racilio se contumaciter *inurbaneque* vexatum.

Nothing is more common in the manuscripts of Cicero's Epistles than the omission, or improper insertion, of *in*: see C. F. W. Müller's note on Fam. i. 9. 21, <*in*> *praestantibus* (= p. 25. 22). But the insertion of it here seems gratuitous. Cicero might say that his good friend Racilius had been insolent to Clodius; but he would hardly say that he had been rude, or uncultivated. And what made Clodius angry was that Racilius treated him with that polished insolence, *πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις*, which is, of all treatment, the most cutting and exasperating.

Fam. i. 2. 2. Multi rogabantur, atque id ipsum consulibus invitis: nam ei Bibuli sententiam valere cupierant.

I fail to see how Mendelssohn and C. F. W. Müller explain this passage. The consuls evidently wanted no motion passed (*diem consumi volebant*), as the proposal of Bibulus, which they favoured, had been rejected. The longer the debate on the matter of procedure raised by Lupus was protracted, the better chance that no decision on the Egyptian question would be arrived at, and the better pleased the consuls would be. Wesenberg (Em. 13) inserted <*non*> before *invitis*, and this addition is rightly adopted by Professor Tyrrell, Mr. Jeans, Dr. Reid, and Mr. Shuckburgh; or, perhaps, *neque* for *atque*.

Att. iv. 4b. 1. Offendes designationem Tyrannionis mirificam in librorum meorum bibliotheca.

So M¹; but Ns have *bibliothecam*, while those MSS. which Lehmann calls OHP omit the word (cp. "De Epp. ad Att. recensendis," p. 174). He thinks that we should omit the word, and also *in*. It would be simpler to suppose that *in* has got out of place, and that we should read

mirificam librorum meorum in bibliotheca. Possibly the omission of the word *bibliotheca* arose from its having been written in Greek letters, or in the form *bibliothecen*, as in Fam. xiii. 77. 3.

Fam. i. 6.

This letter, as Rauschen shows ("Ephemerides Tullianae," Bonn, 1888, p. 39), was written after the Quirinalia (Feb. 17), for Cicero appears to have lost the hope, which he expressed to Quintus (ii. 3. 4 fin.), that effective resistance to the proposals which were detrimental to Lentulus could be made on the Quirinalia.

Q. Fr. ii. 4 (= 4. + 6. 3-7).

This letter, which, according to the Mommsenian arrangement, consists of 4. + 6. 3-7, is resolved by Rauschen, p. 39 f., into fragments of two letters, the conclusion of one (= §§ 1, 2) and the beginning of the other (§§ 3-7) being lost. His arguments are weighty—(1) The acquittal of Sext. Clodius, § 6, occurred a few days before the delivery of the *Pro Caelio*, and that speech was delivered (Cael. 1) during the Megalesia (April 4 to 10), and before the Nones, therefore on the 4th. It was delivered before the Nones, because no mention is made of that speech in Q. Fr. ii. 5, which relates the events after the Nones, up to Cicero's departure on the 8th.¹ (2) But again the acquittal of Sestius, which occurred on March 11, is mentioned in § 1, in such a way that it is plainly the first information given to Quintus of that event. Are we to suppose that

¹ It would be certainly curious if Cicero made no mention to his brother of the speech *Pro Caelio*. But he seems to have written a letter to Quintus on the 4th: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 5 init., *Dederam ad te litteras antea quibus erat scriptum*

Tulliam nostram Crassipedi pr. Non April. esse desponsam ceteraque de republica privataque perscripseram. In that, he doubtless gave some information about that speech.

Cicero let a whole fortnight at the very least elapse from the acquittal of Sestius before he informed his brother about it? I confess I do not see why this may not have been the case. Letter-carriers cannot have been very frequently going to Sardinia, and possibly they went very irregularly. So there is no reason why we may not suppose that §§ 1-2 were written shortly after the acquittal of Sestius, and 3 to 7 added afterwards to the letter before it was despatched. That will account for the second mention of his building operations (§ 3 : cp. § 2), and his second allusion to public affairs (§ 4 : cp. § 1). See what is said below (p. 69) with regard to Q. Fr. iii. 1. Mommsen's arrangement of these letters fits so well, that one is loth to disturb it except under compulsion.

Q. Fr. ii. 5.

This letter was written not at Anagnia, as Baiter and Müller say, but at Rome, early in the morning of the 8th April, just when Cicero was starting for Anagnia : cp. § 4, *a.d. vi. Id. Apr. ante lucem hanc epistulam conscripsi eramque in itinere ut eo die apud T. Titium in Anagnino manerem.*

§ 3. *Erat autem iturus* [sc. Pompeius] (*ut aiebat*) a. d. iiii. Id. Apr., *ut aut Labrone, aut Pisis conscenderet.*

Labro is unknown. Wesseling suggests <Sa>lebrone, a town mentioned in the Itin. Ant., p. 292, between Cosa and Populonium. Possibly under *aut Labrone* (*Lavrone*) is concealed *aut <Te>lamone* which was an important harbour in Etruria (Polyb. ii. 27. 2; Plin. H. N. iii. 50; Plut. Mar. 41: cf. C. I. L., xi., p. 416).

Att. iv. 6.

The date as given by C. F. W. Müller, "m. Apr. aut Mai.," is probably wrong. Cicero had written, and was

apparently despatching by the same post, the celebrated letter (Fam. v. 12) to Luceius (§ 4 *Epistulam Luceio quam misi qua, meas res ut scribat, rogo, fac ut ab eo sumas (valde bella est) cumque ut adproperet adhorteris*. Now that letter, as C. F. W. Müller rightly fixes it, was written from Antium in June. For, as we have seen above, it was written at the same time as Att. iv. 6, and this latter epistle was written after Cicero had made his reconciliation with the Triumvirs (§ 2), and delivered his *παλινψδία*, the Oratio de Provinciis Consularibus (Att. iv. 5. 1). That was, of course, after the Ides of May (cp. Fam. i. 9. 8: Q. Fr. ii. 6. 2), the day on which Cicero's motion about enactments concerning the Campanian land was to have come on. The speech was probably delivered in June, as it would appear that Pompey had not returned from his journey to Sardinia and Africa: for he is not mentioned in the speech as being present,¹ while in the letter to Lentulus Fam. i. 7, written in July, he seems to have been in Rome some time, § 3, *Pompeium, qui mecum saepissime—de te communicare solet*. Therefore we are to date Att. iv. 6 from Antium in June.

Att. iv. 8b.

The date of this letter has been fixed with tolerable accuracy. It is to be assigned, not with Rauschen (pp. 45, 46), to September, but with Körner,² to the first half of November. It is plain from § 2 that the intention of Pompey and Crassus to stand for the consulship had been declared (§ 2 *Domitium . . . fieri consulem non posse*: and also the end of the §, *Si vero id sit ut non minus longas iam in codicillorum fastis futurorum consulum paginulas habeant quam factorum*). Now this occurred towards the end of the year,

¹ Cp. Rauschen, p. 45.

Quaestiones chronologicae," Meissen, 1885, pp. 25-27.

² "De epistulis a Cicerone post reditum usque ad finem anni A. V. C. 700

as it is the last event mentioned by Dio Cassius (xxxix. 30) in his history of the year 56 B.C. After the declaration of Pompey and Crassus, most of the senators abstained from attending the senate οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὴν ἑσθια μετημπίσχοντο οὔτε ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐφοίτων οὔτε ἐν τῇ Καπιτωλίῳ τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἐορτῇ εἰσιτάθηναι. Now the *epulum Iovis* was held on November 13th (cp. Marquardt, iii. 335), in connexion with the Ludi plebei (Nov. 4 to 17), so that they are most probably the *ludi* referred to § 1, *ludis quidem quoniam dies est additus*.

Fam. xiii. 6. 1. Credo te memoria tenere, me et coram P. Cuspio tecum locutum esse, cum te prosequeretur paludatum, et item postea pluribus verbis tecum egisse.

Coram is used adverbially in Cicero, except here and in Pis. 12, *mihī vero ipsi coram genero meo . . quae dicere ausus es ?* There Dr. Reid (on Lael. 3) adds <et> before *genero*. This passage remains; but it can be easily remedied by adding <pro> before *P. Cuspio*.

Q. Fr. ii. 7. 3. A. d. III. Id. Maii senatus consultum est factum de ambitu in Afranii sententiam, quam ego dixeram, cum tu adesses; sed magno cum gemitu senatus. Consules non sunt persecuti eorum sententias: qui Afranio cum essent assensi, addiderunt, ut praetores ita crearentur, ut dies LX privati essent. Eo die Catonem plane repudiarunt. Quid multa? tenent omnia idque ita omnes intellegere volunt.

Before *quam* Baiter adds *in*; Schütz and Wesenberg, *contra*; C. F. W. Müller suggests *quam ego dissuaseram*. I cannot feel that change is necessary. The motion of Afranius was, probably, 'that praetors be elected.' Cicero may have made a similar motion previously (perhaps in the general form 'that the elections be forthwith held'), in order to cut short the bribery which was being practised so extensively at this time. If he made this motion towards the

end of 56 B.C., as he may have done, there would have been a certain interval before the praetors entered upon office, during which they could be prosecuted; and that Vatinius especially should, if successful, be prosecuted was the wish of all right-minded citizens. Some such motion as this of Cicero's may be alluded to in Fam. i. 9. 19, *cum quidem ego eius (Vatini) petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententiis oppugnassem*.

But now that a new year had begun, the praetors, if elected, would forthwith enter upon office, and so escape prosecution. The constitutionalists wished the election to be held at once, and accordingly assented to Afranius, but added a rider that the praetors should not enter upon office for two months. Thus the guilty candidates, and especially Vatinius, could be prosecuted. But Pompey and Crassus were unwilling that their creature Vatinius should suffer, so they did not allow the addendum of the constitutionalists to be thoroughly discussed. The result was that the election was held at once, and the praetors forthwith entered upon office. At the expiration of his year of office, Vatinius was accused of ambitus by Licinius Calvus, and defended by Cicero. Similarly Messalla, who did not enter on the consulship for 53 B.C. until July, escaped prosecution until 51 B.C. (Fam. viii. 4. 1).

It is to be noted that Lange (R. A. iii². 337) is in error in stating that the motion of Afranius did not come on until May. Neither the MSS. of Q. Fr. ii. 7. 3 nor the order of events support this view, as Drumann (iii. 279, note 39: iv. 93, note 98) and Körner (p. 28) have fully shown.

Att. iv. 9. 10, 11.

The chronological arrangement of Att. iv. 9. 10. 11 is much disputed. It may be taken for granted that the date on which Cicero received the letter from Atticus, *a. d. quintum Kal.* (26th April) mentioned in 11. 1 is

correct, not only because M has *quintum* written in full, but also because *cum is Romam venerit* would point to a time when the consuls had not yet returned to Rome. Now Pompey was to meet Crassus at Alba on the 27th, and forthwith proceed to Rome (11. 1): so that they would be in Rome on the 28th and 29th. Accordingly the alteration of the above date to *a. d. ii. Kal.* (Manutius)—a very rare variation of *prid. Kal.*—is to be rejected. Wesenberg and Hirschfelder wish to add <*datas*> or <*scriptas*>. But everything conspires to show that 11 was written on the 26th. It would reach Rome about the 28th, when the arrival of the consuls was imminent, and when the Floralia (April 28 to May 3) were just beginning (cp. 11. 2, *quid primus dies, quid secundus*).

So far Körner (pp. 29–31), admirably. But the arrangement of the letters which he proceeds to sketch, necessitates alterations in the data which he acknowledges are hard to explain. He supposes that Cicero called on Pompey at Cumae on the 22nd (10 fin.): that Pompey returned the visit on the same day, and went with Cicero to Naples (9. 1). Cicero went on to Pompeii on the 23rd, returned on the 24th, and had another interview with Pompey at Naples. On the same day, or the next, Pompey set out for Alba. It will thus be seen that he supposes 9 was written from Naples on the 23rd. This will necessitate the change of *v* to *viii* and *iiii* to *viii* in 9. 2, the former a decidedly violent alteration.

Perhaps a simpler view to take would be that 9. 2 is a separate letter, and that 9. 1 was written on April 24. The order of events then will be—

April 21. Pompey arrives at Cumae.

„ 22. Cicero writes 10, and then calls on Pompey.

„ 23. Pompey returns the visit. Both these visits are mentioned in 9. 1.

April 24. Cicero writes, 9. 1.

„ 24 or 25. Pompey leaves for Alba.

„ 26. Cicero writes 11 in the morning. As Atticus had, in the letter Cicero received that morning, spoken of excitement at Rome as to what would happen during the next few days, Cicero told him about Pompey's movements. He did not deem it necessary to speak of them, when he was writing 9. 1 before receiving the letters of Atticus.

In the afternoon of the 26, Cicero left Cumae, and passed the night at the house of Paetus in Naples.

„ 27. Cicero writes 9. 2 in the morning before starting for Pompeii. I should be inclined to think that Cicero remained there for some time; for, if it was a mere flying visit of inspection, there would be little point in his telling Atticus about it, unless he added some reason why his visit was of such brief duration.

Att. iv. 11. 2. Ne mihi sermo desit. †Abs te opere delector.

Madvig (A. C. iii. 173) has virtually emended this passage. He reads *ita ab isto puero delector*. But Cicero would hardly call Dionysius *puero* after calling him *homine mirifico* above. Perhaps the simplest reading is that suggested by the Ed. Iensoniana *ab isto <magno> opere delector*. Ziehen's reading *opipare* (Rh. Mus. xli. (1896) p. 591) is unlikely, though adopted in the text by C. F. W. Müller. *Opipare* means 'sumptuously' 'richly,' and could not well go with *delector*. What Ziehen finds to object to in *magno opere delector* I do not know: cp. 2 Verr. ii. 143: Balb. 42.

Att. iv. 13.

This letter, despatched on November 15, was plainly written after an absence of some time when Cicero was returning to Rome. Doubtless he had been spending his holiday at Cumae or Pompeii, composing the *De Oratore*, just as he composed the *De Republica* in the next spring in the same villas. His mind had not been occupied with politics, and accordingly he wanted immediately a short *résumé* of public affairs, "*ne istuc hospes veniam.*"

Q. Fr. ii. 8.

There is hardly a letter in Cicero's correspondence which is more difficult than Q. Fr. ii. 8. Its date even is uncertain. Körner (p. 31) attributes it to May 55 B.C.: and this is the ordinary view, and, in my opinion, the correct one. But O. E. Schmidt ("*Ciceros Villen*," p. 44 note) thinks it belongs to 56 B.C., when Cicero made a short run through his villas, from about April 9 to May 6 (Q. Fr. ii. 5. 4). In that passage he states that he intended to be at Arpinum from April 11 to 16, then to go to Pompeii, and on his return to have a look at his Cumanum. But during this visit, Cicero must have been constantly moving about: he does not appear to have settled down for work. Now, from Q. Fr. ii. 8, it seems that Quintus expressed a fear that he would interrupt his brother: that presupposes that Marcus was hard at work. He was so in April, 55 B.C. (Att. iv. 10: 11). The journey of 56 was one of inspection of his villas: that of 55 was straight down to the Cumanum for study. There is no difficulty in supposing that Cicero did not begin to get his Cumanum, his most fashionable villa, elegantly fitted up until 55. Some part of it was evidently habitable in that year, though many workmen were engaged throughout the mansion; and it was doubtless in that habitable

portion that Cicero received the visit of Pompey (Att. iv. 9. 1), which seems to have been a mere morning call. Körner (p. 31) doubts if this letter (Q. Fr. ii. 8) was written from the Cumanum, and asks "cur ille cum fabris mansit in ea villa cum aliae non longe abessent quo se conferret?" We may perhaps reply that the use of the library of Faustus (Att. iv. 10. 1) counterbalanced the disadvantage of living in the midst of workmen. Madvig (A. C. iii. 195) supposes that this letter was written from Antium, as he wishes to read *Antiates* for *Ante a te* is of M, in § 1. So, too, O. E. Schmidt (op. cit. 38. 5) and C. F. W. Müller. The vulg. is *An te Ateius*? and it is supposed that Ateius was a bore who constantly interrupted Quintus, at the same time apologizing, like Paul Pry, for just dropping in; with Ateius the commentators say *docuit* is supplied. This appears to me forced; and I cannot help believing that *interpellat* should be supplied, and that we should read *An te Statius*, as Lambinus suggested. And Madvig is in error, in speaking of the "officiosa molestia" of the Antiates. He must have been thinking of the Formiani (Att. ii. 14. 2: 15. 3). It was quite the contrary at Antium: cp. Att. ii. 6. 2 *esse locum tam prope Romam . . . ubi me interpellat nemo, diligant omnes*. We only once hear of Cicero's being at Antium in 55 B.C. (Att. iv. 12. 1): possibly he went down there to dispose of his house, which he could not afford to keep up, now that he was preparing a more splendid residence at fashionable Cumae. Cicero's house at Antium was in the possession of Lepidus in 45 B.C. (Att. xiii. 47a. 1).

Nor do I think that Quintus was in Italy during April and May, 56 B.C. For Pompey appears to have had an interview with Quintus during the latter part of April in Sardinia, when he came to that province after the conference at Luca (Fam. i. 9. 9). This conference was held about April 18, B.C. 56. Pompey left Rome for Sardinia and

Africa on April 11 (Q. Fr. ii. 3. 5), but first went to Luca. That town is about 220 miles from Rome, and Pompey doubtless took about 5 or 6 days on the journey. Somewhere about the 23rd or 24th, Pompey was in Sardinia, and complained to Quintus about his brother's motion that Caesar's laws concerning the Campanian land should be reconsidered on the Ides of May. Probably Quintus wrote at once to Marcus, and sent the letter referred to in Q. Fr. ii. 6. 1 *quas tuus nauta attulit Olbia datas*. Quintus had hoped to leave his province some time towards the end of April, as we may gather from Q. Fr. ii. 5. 3, 4: but doubtless the arrival of Pompey, who naturally required the services of his lieutenant in his inquiries about the supply of corn to be got from Sardinia, prevented his departure, and he sent the letter by the captain of the vessel in which he had hoped to sail. Certainly, in the middle of May Quintus was not in Rome, but was expected (*sed cetera, ut scribis, praesenti sermoni reserventur* Q. Fr. ii. 6. 1). I think he came back from Sardinia some time in the summer of 56, and did not return there. Cicero, in 54 B.C., says (Pro Scauro, § 39), *cum frater meus ab his* (sc. Sardis) *nuper discesserit*, but that is a mere general expression; and the residence of Quintus in Sardinia was certainly "recent" as compared with that of Albucius (circ. 103 B.C.), who is mentioned in close proximity.

In § 2 C. F. W. Müller reads *portaret*, and says that this is the alteration of the MS. *portarem* proposed by Bücheler. It is not clear what is the nominative to *portaret*. In Rh. Mus. xxv. (1870), p. 170, where Bücheler discusses the passage, he reads *portarent*, and supposes I presume that the subject is indefinite. The defence of the MS. *Asicianam* by Bücheler is convincing: cp. Cic. Cael. 23, 24: Tac. Dial. 21.

As regards *taraxira*, I know nothing better than *area Cyrea* or *Cyri* (Ernesti). Since his restoration Cicero had

so many building projects on hands, in which he availed himself of the services of the architect Cyrus, that it was no wonder that he had become used to studying in the midst of workmen.

Fam. v. 8.

Lange (iii.² p. 354) and Körner (pp. 51-52) hold an opinion as to the date of this letter which is at variance with that held by all previous scholars. They put it in August, B.C. 54. This is probably wrong: as it would appear, from § 2, that Publius and Marcus Crassus the younger were in Rome, yet Marcus was serving with Caesar in the summer of 54 (B. G. v. 24. 2) and Publius also appears to have been with Caesar during the same summer: cp. Plut. Crass. 17. 4, δεξιόμενος αὐτόθι (in Syria), τὸν υἱὸν ἤκοντα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐκ Γαλατίας. Körner seems to be influenced by the fact that, in Fam. i. 9. 19, 20, Cicero defends himself against the strictures of Lentulus for having spoken in behalf of Vatinius and Crassus. Now Vatinius was acquitted of sodalicia at the end of August (Q. Fr. ii. 15. 3). Accordingly Körner thinks that the attack on Crassus which Cicero repelled was made about the same time. He cannot say what the nature of that attack was; but he rejects Lange's view, that Gabinius refused to give up the province of Syria to a legatus sent by Crassus; for it is unlikely that Crassus would have delayed to send a legatus until the summer. Far more probable is the view of Rauschen (p. 51), that the letter was written early in January. Cicero had become reconciled to Crassus at the end of the previous year, and they had parted the best of friends (Fam. i. 9. 20 fin.). But the ill-omened departure of Crassus stimulated his enemies to attack him; they may have moved a curtailment of his powers, and perhaps voted very scanty supplies. Cicero would seem to have urged that the powers and resources of Crassus, so far from

being diminished, should be increased (§ 1). As the reconciliation was recent, the warmth of Cicero's zeal was the greater.

Q. Fr. ii. 9. 3. Lucreti poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt, non multis luminibus ingenii, multae tamen artis : sed cum veneris. Virum te putabo, si Sallusti Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo.

That Munro's view of this passage, which is supported by Prof. Tyrrell, is right, I have no doubt. For the ellipse cp. Q. Fr. ii. 6. 2, *sed plura, quam constitueram ; coram enim* (sc. *de his rebus loquemur*)—a very common form of ellipse. For *tamen*,¹ Lehmann, in his valuable, but not quite convincing, discussion on that word (*De Epp. ad Att.*, p. 195), quotes *Att. ii. 20. 6, Poeta ineptus et tamen scit nihil, sed est non inutilis*. The poet alluded to is Alexander of Ephesus. In 22. 7, Cicero says of him, *Libros Alexandri, neglegentis hominis et non boni poetae, sed tamen non inutilis*. What Cicero required in one of these scientific poets was poetical talent, and knowledge of the subject of which he was treating. Alexander was a poor poet, and ignorant besides, though in a poor poet you might naturally expect, at least, much learning. And, perhaps, it is something of this idea which Cicero meant by *artis* in the case of Lucretius. It will embrace not only the workmanship of the versification, but also the exposition and orderly arrangement of the philosophical thought—in fact, the whole sphere of the διδακτὸν, as opposed to φνᾶ, to speak in Pindaric language. Lucretius has fine flashes of genius, and what you would hardly expect from a poet of genius, and an Epicurean poet too, evidence of systematic arrangement and careful workmanship. When Ovid

¹ I cannot help feeling that there must be *some* feeling of contrast when *tamen* is used, and that it cannot be simply equivalent to *praeterea* ; just

as in the English 'and what's more,' there is always a slight note of contrast.

speaks of Callimachus (Am. i. 15. 14) as *Quamvis ingenio non valet arte valet*, and Ennius (Trist. ii. 424) as *ingenio maximus, arte rudis*, he is, no doubt, mainly thinking of trained and cultured versification: though he may have also had in mind the curious and recondite erudition of which Callimachus had a large, and Ennius a small, share. Cicero, in De Orat. ii. 147, contrasts *acumen* with *ratio quam licet si volumus appellare artem* and *diligentia*, thinking probably of the Greek triad, φύσις, ἐπιστήμη, μελέτη (Plat. Phaedr. 269 D): cp. De Orat. ii. 30.

Q. Fr. ii. 11. 1. Iam pridem istum canto Caesarem.

This is the only place, as far as I know, in classical prose where *cantare* is used in the general sense of praising a person without any accessory idea of the praise being in verse. In post-classical Seneca, Ep. 79. 15, we have *canere* used in this sense, (*Epicurus*) *cum amicitiam suam et Metrodori . . . cecinisset*. In the passage of Cicero there can be no allusion to the poem which Cicero wrote on Caesar, for it does not appear to have been, as yet, projected (cp. Q. Fr. ii. 13. 2, iii. 1. 11 : 8. 3 : 9. 6); nor to the poem on Cicero's consulship: for, though Caesar approved of that poem up to a certain point (Q. Fr. ii. 13. 2 : 15. 5), it does not seem to have contained any special laudation of Caesar.

Q. Fr. ii. 11. 2. Eodem igitur die Tyriis est senatus datus frequens: frequentes contra Syriaci publicani. Vehementer vexatus Gabinius: exagitati tamen a Domitio publicani, quod eum essent cum equis persecuti.

The publicani appear to have accused Gabinius on other grounds, and also because he left his province in order to restore Ptolemy Auletes. The result was that Syria was harassed by pirates,¹ and it became difficult, on

¹ Dio Cass. xxxix. 56. 5, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ πᾶν ὀλίγους τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν, ἐφ' ὅν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Σισένναν τε τὸν υἱὸν ἦς ἐτέτακτο, τοῖς λησταῖς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα καὶ στρατιώτας μετ' ἐξέδωκεν: cp. § 1.

though, of course, it is by no means certain. Sigonius suggested *Laude Nonis*.

Laus Pompeia, on the site of Lodi Vecchio, not far from the modern Lodi, was some twenty-four Roman miles from Placentia; and Caesar and Quintus may very well have despatched letters from it. But if *nonne* conceals *Non.*, I think we must transpose it to follow *post-ridie*. It would be much better, however, to read *una*, as is suggested by Boot (Obs. Crit., pp. 35, 36), who compares the passage, a few lines below, *Litterae vero eius una datae cum tuis*. Boot, however, does not adopt the reading *Laude*, and prefers to stand by the view that Blandeno is a town in the valley of the Po, not elsewhere mentioned: so does Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 557. But Mommsen (in C. I. L. v., p. 696) admits the possibility, though not the certainty, of *Laude*: for though the town is not elsewhere mentioned in classical authors, it occurs often in the Itineraries.

Att. iv. 16.

Considerable difficulties arise as to the date of this letter. In § 6 (= Ep. 17. 2 of the pre-Mommsenian arrangement), we read that Scaurus had been prosecuted by Triarius. The date of that prosecution has been fixed absolutely by Asconius, 131 (= p. 17. 1 ed. Kiessling and Schoell), *postulatus <est> apud M. Catonem praetorem repetundarum, ut in Actis scriptum est, pridie Nonas Quinctiles post diem tertium quam <C> Cato erat absolutus*. This necessitates the alteration of *iii.* to *iiii.* *Nonas* in 15. 4: and, if the Mommsenian arrangement of Ep. 16 is to hold, we cannot date 16 earlier than July 6. Rauschen (p. 54) thinks that § 6 is part of a letter which Cicero wrote between 16 and 15, and appeals to the mutilation of 18, and the generally disordered state of the letters at the end of Att. iv. He thinks

the remainder of 16 was written shortly before July 4th, when Cato had not yet been acquitted on the charge of violating the Fufian law, and Procilius had been condemned (16. 5 compared with 15. 4).

The symmetry of the Mommsenian arrangement of the letters in Att. iv., and the order which can be given them by a mere interchange of sheets of the archetype, make us pause before we disturb that arrangement; and such mere interchange of sheets removes much difficulty elsewhere in the correspondence, as Gurlitt has so admirably shown in his elaborate treatise *Die Archetypus der Brutusbriefe* in the *Jahrb. der klass. Philol.* 1885 and 1892. If we could suppose that 16, §§ 1-5, was written on July 1st or 2nd, and that 16, §§ 6, 7, was added at midday on July 6th, the following arrangement of events will appear possible—

July 1st or 2nd. Cicero wrote 16, §§ 1-5.

- „ 3. Challenge of jurymen in case of Drusus (16. 5).
- „ 4. Acquittal of Cato (accused under the Fufian Law) and Sufenas : condemnation of Procilius (15. 4).
- „ 6. Prosecution of Scaurus (15. 6: Ascon. p. 131).
Cicero writes 16, §§ 6, 7, at midday; goes down to Reate in afternoon, about 45 miles (15. 5).
- „ 7-8. Cicero at Reate (15. 5).
- „ 9. Returns to Rome (15. 6).

There are not wanting examples of letters which received additions on days later than the day on which they were begun. A good instance is Q. Fr. iii. 1, which was commenced (§§ 1-14) at Arpinum between Sept. 14 and 18, and received three several additions (§§ 14-19 : 20-22 : 23-25), at Rome, between Sept. 20 and 28. At this time Atticus was in Epirus, and was meditating a journey into Asia, so that we can well suppose that messengers were not despatched to him every day.

Körner (pp. 44-45) solves the difficulty by supposing the date given by Asconius to be wrong. But Asconius gives the date so very precisely, mentioning not only the day, but adding its position as regards the acquittal of Cato, and stating that he had found the date in the *Acta*, that we cannot adopt this hypothesis.

The reason why Cicero says nothing about his journey to Reate in 16. 6, 7 is that 16 is strictly an answer to queries of Atticus, made in the letter brought by Paccius: while 15 is a spontaneous record of the events of the month.

Q. Fr. ii. 14. 2. De quo petis, ut ad te, nihil occultans, nihil dissimulans, nihil tibi indulgens, *genuine* fraterneque rescribam, id est, utrum voles, ut dixerimus, an ad expediendum te, si causa sit, commorere.

For *genuine*, Boot (Obs. Crit. p. 36) excellently suggests *ingenue*. The word *genuinus* (when not applied to teeth) does not occur in Cicero except in De Rep. iii. 29, where it is opposed to 'foreign,' *non esse nos transmarinis nec importatis artibus eruditos sed genuinis domesticisque virtutibus*. To read *germane* would introduce a word not elsewhere used by Cicero. Boot compares for *ingenue* Fam. v. 2. 2; Att. xiii. 27. 1: cp. Lael. 65: and quotes for the sense Q. Fr. ii. 14. 3, *non adsentatorie sed fraterne*: 15. 5, *φιλα-λῆθῶς et, ut soles scribere, fraterne*.

Q. Fr. ii. 14. 2. Plane aut tranquillum nobis, aut certe munitissimum, quod cotidie domus, quod forum, quod theatri significationes declarant; nec flaborant, quod mea conscientia copiarum nostrarum, quod Caesaris, quod Pompeii gratiam tenemus.

Madvig (A. C. iii 195 f.) suggests *nec labat antiqua mea conscientia copiarum nostrarum quod, &c.*, which is most ingenious. Perhaps it would be simpler to read *nec laborat mea conscientia quod copiarum nostrarum, &c.*, and to suppose that Cicero means "I have all external evidences of

popularity: nor have I any misgivings in my own heart because I am regarded with favour by our own forces (he may be thinking principally of the Equites), by Caesar, and by Pompey."

Q. Fr. ii. 14. 4. *Ambitus* redit immanis; namquam fuit par. Idib. Quinct. faenus fuit bessibus ex triente coitione Memmi test quo cum Domitio; hanc Scaurus unum vincere.

Compare Att. iv. 15. 7, *Ardet ambitus*: σῆμα δὲ τοι ἐπέω. *Faenus ex triente Idibus Quinctilibus factum erat bessibus. Memmii Caesaris opes omnes confirmant. Cum eo Domitium consules iunxerunt, qua pactione, epistulae committere non audeo. Pompeius fremit, queritur, Scauro studet, sed, utrum fronte an mente, dubitatur. Ἐξοχὴ in nullo est: pecunia omnium dignitatem exaequat. Messalla languet, non quo aut animus desit aut amici, sed coitio consulum <et> Pompeius obsunt.* This would lead us to think that perhaps under *est quo* is concealed *et consulum* (cos). Madvig proposes *ex aequo*, and reads, for the last sentence, *hanc Scaurus unus <studet> vincere*. For the last finite verb which must be supplied to govern *vincere*, we should expect one expressing ability, e.g. *unus <valet>*. Scaurus, as he appeared to have the support of Pompey, was the only candidate able to face this combination with any chance of success. The margin of Lambinus's edition reads *quam cum Cn. Domitio habuit. Scaurus vult vincere*.

Fam. vii. 8.

I think with Rauschen (p. 56) it would be better to date this letter "Sextilis," than "Quinctilis," with Körner and C. F. W. Müller. In Att. iv. 15. 10 (written in July 27), Cicero says, *ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor iam eum esse in Britannia*, and Quintus did arrive in Britain about the end of July, as we may gather from Q. Fr. ii. 15. 4, (written at the end of Sextilis). It took 27 days for a

letter to come from Britain to Rome (Q. Fr. iii. 1. 17, 25): so that it was probably not a whole month from the time when the letters from Britain might be expected that Cicero said to Trebatius (§ 2), *Ego vestras Britannicas litteras exspecto*.

If this is so, it will then follow that Fam. vii. 9 must be dated in October (cp. § 1, *neque ego ad te his duobus mensibus scripseram*). Julia died in the middle of September.

Q. Fr. iii. 1. 3. Equidem hoc, quod melius intellego, affirmo. mirifica suavitate te villam habiturum, piscina et salientibus additis, palaestra et silva †viridcata. Fundum audio te hunc Bovillanum velle retinere. De eo quid videatur, ipse constitues. †Calibus aiebat aqua dempta et eius aquae iure constituto et servitute fundo illi imposita tamen nos pretium servare posse, si vendere vellemus.

That *viridi* followed *silva* is highly probable: also it is possible that a participle followed *viridi* to balance *additis*. Georges suggested *iuncta*. Perhaps <oniunc>ta. Or perhaps we might read *viridi*. *Attamen*.

What we are to understand by *Bovillanum* I do not know. The Medicean and the ed. Romana read *Bovilianum*, or *Bobilianum*; the ed. Iensoniana *Bombilianum*. Reading *hunc* as in the text, there can be no reference to Bovillae, the town in Latium, as the estate of Fufidius was obviously in the territory of Arpinum. "Nomen ab ignobili loco ductum," says Manutius. It is possible that we should read *nunc* for *hunc*; and suppose Cicero to mean, "I have bought you this beautiful estate: but I understand that you now wish to keep your suburban residence at Bovillae" (which he probably intended to sell in order to get the purchase-money for the Fufidianus fundus). Cicero appears to have been in some perplexity about his brother's intentions as regards a suburban residence: cp. § 23.

For *Calibus*, perhaps we should read, not *Calvus* (with

Cratander), but *Camillus*. Camillus was a distinguished real-property lawyer: cp. Att. v. 8. 3; Fam. v. 20. 3, and often.

In § 4 *Satricum* cannot possibly refer to the town in Latium, as the commentators say. It must obviously be a village in or near the territory of Arpinum. In Livy ix. 12. 5: 16. 2, we hear of certain Satricani who revolted and joined the Samnites apparently in connexion with Fregellae: so there must have been a Satricum near Arpinum. It is this village to which both Cicero and Livy must refer.

Q. Fr. iii. 1. 17. Cum hanc iam epistulam complicarem, tabellarii a vobis venerunt a. d. xi. Kal. Septembr. vicesimo die.

C. F. W. Müller forgets to quote the excellent suggestion of Bardt (Quaest. Tull. p. 32), *a. d. xi Kal. septimo et vicesimo die*: cp. § 25, *Ex Britannia Caesar ad me K. Sept. dedit litteras quas ego accepi a. d. iiii Kal. Oct.*

Q. Fr. iii. 1. 18. Quod interiore epistula scribis, me Idib. Sept. Pompeio legatum iri, id ego non audiui, scripsique ad Caesarem, *neque* Vibullium Caesaris mandata de mea mansione ad Pompeium pertulisse, nec Oppium. Quo consilio? Quamquam Oppium ego tenui, quod priores partes Vibulli erant; cum eo enim coram Caesar egerat, ad Oppium scripserat.

The passage would run more smoothly if we made a transposition, *nec Oppium,—quamquam Oppium ego tenui* ("though it was I who restrained Oppius"). *Quo consilio?* ("why did you do that, you may ask"). *Quod priores, &c.*

Att. iv. 17. 3. At senatus decrevit ut tacitum iudicium ante comitia fieret ab iis consiliis quae erant omnibus sortita in singulos candidatos. Magnus timor candidatorum.

That a *iudicium tacitum* is a trial with closed doors (as Mr. Shuckburgh translates) is almost certain; there may

have been the additional idea, perhaps, that the result was not to be divulged until the proper time, in the present case until after the elections had been held. Thus it will be analogous to the "Senatus consultum tacitum," cp. Willem's *Le Sénat*, ii. 164, note 8. Mr. Shuckburgh takes *omnibus* as the dative referring to the candidates: "a trial 'with closed doors' should be held before the elections in respect to each of the candidates severally by the panels already allotted to them all." I think that this is the idea; but should prefer to transpose *omnibus* to follow *consiliis*, and take it with that word. The trial should be held by all the panels which had been assigned to the several candidates.

Att. iv. 17. 7 (= 16. 14). Dices: "Quid mihi hoc monumentum proderit?" †Ad quid id laboramus res Romanas. Non enim te puto de lustro, quod iam desperatum est, aut de iudiciis, quae lege †Coctia fiant, quaerere.

Possibly *atqui* (so Boot) *id laboramus*. "And yet we are striving to that end," or "are anxious in that respect." I think that, just as we might write, "You will ask, What good will that do me?" the word 'me' referring to the writer, not the speaker, so, too, *mihi* is used in this passage referring to Cicero (cp. *mihi* in Atticus iv. 2. 3). I doubt if Cicero would represent Atticus as asking such a brusque question as "What good will it be to *me* (Atticus)?"

Lambinus (marg. 1584) is right in adding <*Habes*>. It is also omitted in Fam. vii. 7. 2. <*Habes*> *imperatorem*, cp. Q. Fr. ii. 15. 4, *quem vero ipsum imperatorem habes*.

For *Coctia* the most reasonable correction, as far as sense goes, is *Plotia* (Ascensius). Trials for *vis* were such a common occurrence in these riotous times that they were of little interest. But it is not easy to see how the corruption could have occurred.

Q. Fr. iii. 2. 2. Interim ipso decimo die, quo ipsum oportebat †hostiarum numerum et militum renuntiare, inrepsit summa infrequentia. Cum vellet exire, a consulibus retentus est: introducti publicani. Homo undique †atius cum a me maxime vulneraretur, non tulit, et me trementi voce exsulem appellavit.

Probably we should read *hostium*. We know that provincial governors were expected to write reports to the senate of any military actions which occurred during their term of office: cp. Cic. Pis. 38, *Quis unquam provinciam cum exercitu obtinuit qui nullas ad senatum litteras miserit?* cp. Verr. v. 9. We may well suppose that such a commander, on his return, would be expected to make a statement in the senate as to the military position in his province; though it must be confessed that, as far as I know, there is no confirmatory evidence of this practice.

It is a matter of regret that C. F. W. Müller, though he gives thirteen conjectures, did not mention Professor Tyrrell's emendation *saucius*, for the corrupt †atius: cp. Fam. viii. 8. 3.

Att. iv. 18. 1. Quomodo ergo absolutus? Omnino †ΠΟΡΠΑ-ΠΥΜΝΑ. Accusatorum incredibilis infantia, id est L. Lentuli L. f., quem fremunt omnes praevaricatum, deinde Pompei mira contentio, iudicum sordes. Ac tamen XXXII. condemnarunt, XXXVIII. absolverunt.

Though far from certain, no better suggestion of the corrupt Greek has been made than that of Manutius, *πρώρα πρύμνα*. The phrase *πρώρα καὶ πρύμνα* is often found expressing the whole of a thing, from top to bottom: cp. Cic. Fam. xvi. 24. 1, *mihi prora et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi ut rationes meas explicares*. Dio Chrys. xxxvii., p. 120 R, *ὁμοῖς γὰρ ἔστε νῦν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον πρώρα καὶ πρύμνα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀλβίοι καὶ ἄφνειοι*: Apost. 15. 97, *τὰ ἐκ πρώρας καὶ τὰ ἐκ πρύμνης ἀπόλλυται*: ἐπὶ τῶν πανολιθρία φθειρομένων. Translate, "In short

the Alpha and the Omega of it was the incredible feebleness of the prosecution, &c."

Q. Fr. iii. 6. 6. †Crebrius, ut ante ad te scripsi, Romae est : et qui omnia †adiurat debere tibi valde renuntiant.

A comparison with Q. Fr. iii. 4. 5 will lead us to think that the events referred to had something to say to the town-household of Quintus (for Ascanio was probably a slave of Quintus) and the suburbanum in which Quintus was interested. It is just possible that for *Crebrius* we should read *Cincius* : cp. iii. i. 6, *Urbanam expolitionem urget ille quidem et Philotimus et Cincius : sed etiam ipse crebro interviso, quod est facile factu*. The connexion of the topics hardly admits of the clever emendation of Orelli, *C. Rebilus*, advocated by Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 38). The next clause probably refers to that untrustworthy person, T. Anicius (cp. iii. i. 23) : and possibly we should read, *et qui omnia adiurat debere tibi, <omnia tibi> valde renuntiat*, "denies all obligation to you," "refuses you everything" : for this sense of *renuntiare*, cp. Att. ii. i. 8, *Quid impudentius publicanis renuntiantibus*.

Q. Fr. iii. 6. 7. Quattuor tragoedias xvi diebus absolvisse cum scribas, tu quicquam ab alio mutuaris ? et †πλέος quaeris cum Electram et †Trodam scripseris ? Cessator esse noli : et illud γνῶθι σεαυτὸν noli putare ad adrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum, verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus. Sed et istas et Erigonam mihi velim mittas.

Quintus would appear to have been studying Sophocles about this time : cp. ii. 15, 3, Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους, *quamquam a te factam¹ fabellam video esse festive, nullo modo*

¹ So Bücheler (Q. Cic. reliquiae, p. 19), who adds, "nempe ex graeca Quintus converterat Sophoclis fabulam quae σύνδειπνοι volgo inscribatur . . .

Marcus officii causa et amoris fratrem laudat interpretem, poema ipsum romanae scilicet gravitati parum conveniens aspere improbat."

probavi; and Quintus had a great admiration for Sophocles: cp. Fin. v. 3, *Tum Quintus: . . . Sophocles ob oculos versabatur quem scis quam admirer quamque eo delecter.*

Accordingly, I should be inclined to read *Troilum* (for *Trodam*) with Fritzsche.¹ A play of Sophocles bore that name: cp. Nauck, p. 266. Sophocles also wrote an "Erigone." She was a daughter of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra: cp. Nauck, p. 180. For *πλεος*, I know no better emendation than that of Usener, adopted by C. F. W. Müller, *πάθος*. Quintus thinks his tragedies lack emotion; though he had such eminently tragic subjects as *Electra* and *Troilus*. Marcus considered that such slipshod work as the dramatic efforts of Quintus must have been was mere idling.

Q. Fr. iii. 7. 1. Romae, et maxime, ꝑ Appia ad Martis, mira fluvies.

Read, after Wesenberg, *Romae et maxime in Appia ad Martis mira alluvies*. For *in* omitted, cp. Q. Fr. iii. 9. 4, *et Romae et <in> praediis infrequens*. The omission of *in* is most common: see above p. 52. The temple is that of "Mars without the wall": cp. Baumeister's "Denkmäler," p. 1521.

Q. Fr. iii. 8. 1. Superiori epistulae quod respondeam, nihil est; quae plena stomachi et querelarum est: quo in genere alteram quoque te scribis pridie Labieno dedisse, qui adhuc non venerat.

As Labienus was in Gaul in the autumn and all through the winter of 54 B.C. (cp. Caes. B. G. v. 24 : 37 :

¹ Bücheler, who is followed by C. F. W. Müller, wishes to read *Aeropam*, for (1) a similar corruption is found in Apicius, *tropetes* for *aeropetes*; (2) there was an Aeropa of Carcinus (if we should not read *Μερόπη*, with Valckenaer), which was apparently very affecting

(Aelian, V. H. xiv. 40); (3) the Mycenaean horrors were a favourite subject with the Romans. But the presumption that Quintus would appear to have been at this time devoting himself to the adaptation of plays of Sophocles outweighs these considerations.

53 : vi. 5 : Cic. Q. Fr. iii. 7. 2), Rauschen (p. 60) reads *quae* for *qui*, comparing Fam. xi. 24. 2, *dum tibi litterae meae veniant*. Quintus, no doubt, asked Labienus to forward the letters by his couriers: cp. § 2, *Tu velim cures ut sciam, quibus nos dare oporteat eas, quas ad te deinde litteras mittemus, Caesarisne tabellariis, ut is ad te protinus mittat, an Labieni*. This is better than to read *Labeoni*, with Ziehen (Rh. Mus. xli. (1896), p. 594). Labeo was in Rome at the end of September, and not likely to start for Gaul soon (Q. Fr. iii. 1. 21). Even if he had done so, it would hardly have been possible for him to reach Quintus, and be back in Rome by the end of November, the date of iii. 8.

Q. Fr. iii. 8. 6. Nunc de Milone. Pompeius ei nihil tribuit, et omnia Guttae, dicitque se perfecturum, ut in illum Caesar incumbat.

The candidates among whom the contest for the consulship of 52 B.C. finally lay were Plautius Hypsaeus, Metellus Scipio, and Milo. But this letter was written at the end of November, 54 B.C., and this unknown Gutta may well have been among the "entries" at that time. He may have been the son of the Ti. Gutta, mentioned in the *pro Cluentio* §§ 127, 130, who was expelled by the censors from the senate.

Att. iv. 19. 1. O navigationem amandam! quam mehercule ego valde timebam recordans superioris tuae transmissionis δέππευς.

The word δέππευς has generally been taken as meaning skins which were used as a kind of overcoat "ad corpus adversus maritimas tempestates tuendum" (Schütz), "ad frigus arcendum" (Boot). It is rather, I think, to be taken for the skins stretched along the sides of the ship, which were used during bad weather to keep the waves from washing into the ship, and drenching the crew: cp. Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 15. 4, *atque etiam uno tempore accidit ut, difficilioribus usi tempestatibus, ex pellibus quibus erant*

lectae naves, nocturnum excipere rorem cogerentur. These seem to have been technically called *παραρύματα* or *παραβλήματα* in Greek; and we sometimes find them used when, a fight being imminent, it was necessary to conceal the marines: cp. Xen. Hell. i. 6. 19: ii. 1. 22. In C. I. A. ii. 809. Col. e. 85, 104 we find *παραρύματα τρίχινα*, of which Mr. Torr (*Ancient Ships*, p. 53, note 123), says, "the other *παραρρύματα* were perhaps of horsehair, for that seems the likeliest meaning of *τρίχινα*, but were possibly of hide: cp. Caesar, de bello civili iii. 15."¹

Fam. vii. 16. 1. Nunc vero in hibernis iniectus mihi videris. Itaque te commovere non curas.

C. F. W. Müller reads with the MSS. Hoffmann and Mendelssohn *iniectus* (see his Crit. note, p. xxxviii.), meaning, I presume, 'under arrest'; a legal term (*manum inicere*) being facetiously used in a letter to the lawyer Trebatius. At best this would be an unnatural expression; for 'imprisoned' (which is the sense required) is somewhat different from 'arrested,' and it is highly doubtful if *inicere* without *manum* can mean 'arrested.' A parallel is certainly required. The most natural reading would be *in hibernis*, *in tectis*, 'in winter quarters, under roof' as opposed to *sub pellibus hiemare*: cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 13. 5: B. G. iii. 29. 2. Winter quarters were generally of a solid substantial nature: cp. Liv. v. 2. 1, *hibernacula aedificari*; xxvi. 1. 10; also Caes. B. G. v. 83. 1: viii. 5. 2: Bell. Hisp. 16. 2.

Q. Fr. iii. 9. 7. De Arcano Caesaris opus est vel mehercule etiam elegantioris alicuius; imagines enim istae et palaestra et piscina et nilus multorum Philotimorum est, non Diphilorum.

The mention of Caesar as one who would give advice on the adornment of a country-house is somewhat strange. I

¹ Suidas defines *δέρις* as *δέρμα*, Lex Seg. τὰ ξηρὰ δέρματα καὶ ἀμάλακτα. *βύρσα*, ἢ *τρίχινον παραπέτασμα*: and the

think we should read *Caesii*: cp. Q. Fr. iii. 1. 2 fin
Omnino spero paucis mensibus opus Diphili perfectum fore:
curat enim diligentissime Caesius qui tum erat mecum.
 From the last words we gather that Caesius does not
 appear to have been continually overseeing the repairs
 at the Arcanum of Q. Cicero.

TABLE OF PASSAGES DISCUSSED IN THE PRECEDING
 ARTICLE.

		PAGES.			PAGES.
Q. Fr. ii.	1,	50-52	Att. iv.	2,	50
	4,	53		4b,	52
	5,	54		6,	54
	7,	56		8b,	55
	8,	60-63		9-11,	57-59
	9,	64		13,	60
	11,	65-66		16,	68
	13,	67		17,	73-74
	14,	70-71		18,	75
				19,	78
Q. Fr. iii.	1,	72-73	Fam. i.	2,	52
	2,	75		6,	53
	6,	76		v. 8,	63
	7,	77		vii. 5,	66
	8,	77-78		8,	71
	9,	79		16,	79
				xiii. 6,	56

L. C. PURSER.

ON THE FIXED ALEXANDRINE YEAR.

THE date of the introduction of the fixed Alexandrine year has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion, and has been placed by some authorities in 30 B.C. with 26 B.C. for the first intercalary year: by others in 26 B.C., with 22 B.C. for the first intercalary year: Ideler maintained the earlier date, Boeckh left the question undecided, and more modern writers incline to accept the later date. The present condition of opinion on the subject may be gathered from the following quotations:—

Kubitschek, in Pauly-Wissowa, I. 617, s. v. Aera 9:—Die Streitfrage (s. Ideler I. 153 ff. Lepsius *Berl. Monatsb.* 1858, 531 ff. Boeckh, *Studien*, 94 ff. *Sonnenkreise*, 260 ff. Mommsen, *Röm. Chronologie*², 258 ff. E. Müller, *PRE* I² 1068 ff. Soltau, *Chronologie*, 170 ff.) ist zu keinem befriedigenden Resultate geführt worden; nur ist wahrscheinlich geworden, dass die Ordnung des Alexandrinischen Kalenders erst 26 v. Chr. erfolgte, die Aerenepoche aber auf dem 30 August 30 v. Chr. zurückgeschoben wurde.

Strack, *Rhein. Mus.* 1898, p. 425:—Im 5. Jahre des Augustus ägyptischer Zählung d. h. im Jahre 26/5 ist vermuthlich diese Kalenderänderung beschlossen; im Jahre 23/2 in dem die überschüssigen im Wandeljahr ausser Rechnung bleibenden Vierteltage einen ganzen Tag ausmachen ist jedenfalls zuerst geschaltet.

An examination of the evidence of the papyri, which were unknown to previous investigators, leads decisively to the conclusion that the first year, in which an intercalary day was inserted, was 22 B.C. The passages on which this conclusion is based are as follows:—

1. Ox. Pap. I. xliv. 15: L ἰδ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανῶ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, μη(νὸς) Καισαρείου ἐπαγομ(ένων) ε'.

2. An inscription from Abydos, quoted by Wilcken, *Ostraca*, 1. p. 793: $\overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{X}}$ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Τύβηι ιη (= 13 Jan. 30 A.D.), accompanied by a Demotic note, thus translated by Brugsch: "Geschrieben im Jahre 17 des Tiberius Caesar des (oben genannten), zur Zeit des 18. Tybi des Ioniers, welches entspricht dem 1. Mechir des Aegypters."

3. Brit. Mus. Pap. cxxx. 37: ἔτους τρίτου θεοῦ Τίτου Φαρμουῦθι τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ τρίτης τῆς νυκτὸς ὥρας, ὥς δὲ Ρωμαῖοι ἄγουσι καλάνδαις Ἀπριλίας, κατ' ἀρχαίους δὲ Παχὼν νεομηνία εἰς τὴν δευτέραν.

4. P. Paris. 19. 7: αL Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου μηνὸς Ἀδρια[νοῦ] ἢ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους Τύβηι ιη.

5. P. Paris 19^{bis} 3 = Brit. Mus. Pap. cx. 2: Lā Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου μηνὸς Ἀδριανοῦ ἢ, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους(ς) Τύβηι ιη.

It may be assumed here, without question, that in the fixed Alexandrine calendar the intercalary day was inserted at the end of each period of four years, immediately before the first of Thouth of the following year. We learn from (1) that there was an intercalary day in the year 95 A.D., and deduce that there was such a day in the year 3 A.D.: $95 = 3 + (4 \times 23)$. Now let y denote the difference in days between the fixed and variable calendars in the years $3/4$, $4/5$, $5/6$, $6/7$, then $y + x$ will be the difference in years expressed in the form $3 + 4x/4 + 4x$, $4 + 4x/5 + 4x$, $5 + 4x/6 + 4x$, $6 + 4x/7 + 4x$.

The date of (2) is 13 Jan. 30 A.D.; it is therefore in the year 29/30; but $29 = 5 + (4 \times 6)$; $\therefore x = 6$.

The difference in days is 13, $\therefore y + x = 13$; $\therefore y = 7$.

The date of (3) is 1 April 81 A.D.: it is therefore in the year 80/81, but $80 = 4 + (4 \times 19)$; $\therefore x = 19$.

Pharmouthi 6 corresponds to Pachon 2; hence the difference in days is 26; $\therefore y + x = 26$; $\therefore y = 7$.

The date of (4) and (5) is 4 Dec., 137 A.D.; it is therefore in the year 137/8, but $137 = 5 + (4 \times 33)$; $\therefore x = 33$.

Hadrianus (= Choiak) 8 corresponds to Tybi 18; hence the difference in days is 40; $\therefore y + x = 40$; $\therefore y = 7$.

These three dates accordingly give a consistent result; and we learn that in the year $3/4$ and the three following years the difference between the fixed and variable calendars was seven days. Calculating backwards from this we find that the first intercalary day was inserted in the year 22 B.C., and that the fixed Alexandrine year was instituted at the beginning of the year 26/25 B.C.

The statement made above that, in (3), Pharmouthi 6 corresponds to Pachon 2, and not to Pachon 1, requires justification. The dates of all events recorded as having taken place at night present a certain amount of difficulty, owing to the uncertainty as to the time at which the day began. The Greeks counted their 24-hour day from sunset to sunset, the Romans from midnight to midnight (see Unger, *Philologus*, 1892, vol. 51, pp. 14, 212), but at the same time there was everywhere a popular method of regarding the day as lasting from sunrise to sunset, and leaving the night undated: in this article two days are said to correspond whose periods of daylight correspond. Now in (3) the expression ἡ ἐπιφώσκουσα ἔκτη must denote some hour near the beginning of the 6th, whether counted from sunset or midnight¹: hence in this case the supposition, that both the day began at midnight and the hours of the night were counted from sunset, is excluded, because, under these circumstances, the third hour of the night would be very near the end of the day; for the same reason Pharmouthi 6 cannot have begun at sunrise. If then Pharmouthi 6 began, Roman fashion, at midnight, it coincided completely with April 1, and the following noon must correspond to the noon of Pachon 2; if it began, according to the Greek

¹ The word ἐπιφώσκουσα does not necessarily imply that the time was near dawn, because ἐπιφάσκειν and ἐπιφώσκειν are used of the moon as well as of the sun (e.g. Job xxv. 5): in

Luke xxiii. 54, καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκε, 'and the sabbath drew on,' the time indicated is evening; so also Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 70. 11, ἐπιφωσκούσης τῆς κυριακῆς ἑσπέρας.

style, at sunset, then Pharmouthi 6 extended from sunset on March 31 to sunset on April 1, and, in this case also, the following noon is that of Pachon 2. In both cases, the words ἐπὶ τρίτης τῆς νυκτὸς ὥρας must be equivalent to ἐπὶ τρίτης τοῦ μεσουυκτίου ὥρας in the first case, because, as we have seen, the hour of birth must have been near the beginning of the day; in the second case, because the only part of the night common to Pharmouthi 6 and April 1 was the period after midnight.

If this reasoning be considered inconclusive, the argument can be reversed. Independently of this papyrus, the other instances are sufficient to establish the fact, that in the year 3/4 the difference between the two calendars was seven days, and consequently in the year 80/81 the difference must have been twenty-six days; hence Pharmouthi 6 corresponded to Pachon 2.

From the preceding argument the following rules may be deduced:—

1. If the difference in days between the fixed and variable calendars be known, and be greater than 6, the date is after A.D., and may lie in one of four years, the earliest of which is determined (*a*) if the day lie between Thouth 1 and December 31 by subtracting 7 from the difference, multiplying the result by 4 and adding 3; or, more simply, by multiplying the difference by 4 and subtracting 25; (*b*) if the day lie between January 1 and the end of the Alexandrine year, by multiplying the difference by 4 and subtracting 24.
2. If the year A.D. be known, the difference in days between the fixed and variable calendars can be determined by reducing the year to one of the forms $3 + 4x/4 + 4x$, $4 + 4x/5 + 4x$, $5 + 4x/6 + 4x$, $6 + 4x/7 + 4x$, and adding 7 to the value of x thus obtained.

The same result may be deduced from the works of Ptolemy and Theon:—Ptolemy, *Synt. Math.*, III., p. 256,

ed. Heiberg: ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ναβονασσάρου βασιλείας μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς ἔτη συνάγεται κατ' Αἰγυπτίους $\overline{\nu\kappa\delta}$, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλείας ἔτη $\overline{\Sigma\zeta\delta}$ ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ $\overline{\alpha}$ ἔτους Αὐγούστου κατ' Αἰγυπτίους τῆς ἐν τῷ Θωθ $\overline{\alpha}$ μεσημβρίας, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἐποχὰς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας συνιστάμεθα, μέχρι τοῦ $\overline{\iota\zeta}$ ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀθῦρ $\overline{\zeta}$ μετὰ δύο ἰσημερινὰς ὥρας τῆς μεσημβρίας ἔτη γίνεται $\overline{\rho\epsilon\alpha}$ καὶ ἡμέραι $\overline{\xi\epsilon}$ καὶ ὥραι ἰσημερινὰ $\overline{\beta}$. Hence it follows that Ptolemy counted the first year of Augustus from Thoth 1 = August 31 in 30 B.C.

Again we learn from the *πρόχειροι κανόνες* (*Ptolemaei et Theonis opera*, ed. Halma, vol. vi.) that the fixed and variable calendars coincided at the beginning of the fifth year of Augustus, and that four years later the difference amounted to one day:—p. 30. γέγονε δὲ ἡ εἰρημένη διὰ Ἀυξ ἐτῶν ἀποκατάστασις ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχῆς χρόνου ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλείας, ὡς ἐκ τούτου πάλιν τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰληφέναι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους προλαμβάνειν καθ' ἑκάστου ἑνιαυτὸν τῷ τετάρτῳ μέρει τῆς ἡμέρας. From the beginning of the fifth year of Augustus (26/25 B.C.) the Egyptian calendar began to anticipate the Alexandrine at the rate of a quarter of a day each year; this difference amounted to one day in 22 B.C., which was the first year in which a day was intercalated.

The examples of double dates in the *πρόχειροι κανόνες* agree with this; we have first l. c. p. 30, 31, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Διοκλητιανοῦ βασιλείας ἔτη $\overline{\omicron\zeta}$ Θωθ $\overline{\kappa\beta}$. . . εὐρομεν δὲ τὸν κατ' Αἰγυπτίους μῆνα Χοιάκ τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν $\overline{\kappa\eta}$. This is the year 360/1 A.D., and $360 = 4 + (4 \times 89)$; the difference is made up of 8 days Thouth + 30 Phaophi + 30 Hathyr + 28 Choiak = 96 = 89 + 7. Again the date of the total eclipse of the sun which took place on June 16, 364 A.D., is thus given:—l. c., p. 77. τῷ ὀγδοηκοστῷ ἔτει Διοκλητιανοῦ μηνὶ καθ' Ἑλλήνας Παννὶ. p. 81. ἔσχομεν καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν φώτων συζυγίαν κατ' Αἰγυπτίους χρόνον, μεθ' ὥρας $\beta\ \gamma\ \delta\ \epsilon$

τῆς ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ τετάρτῃ τοῦ Θῶθ μεσημβρίας: and p. 82. εὕρομεν τὸν κατ' Ἀλεξανδρέας μῆνα μὲν Παυνὶ ἡμέρας δὲ $\overline{\kappa\beta}$, ἧς μετὰ τε $\overline{\beta}$ δ' ὥρας καιρικὰς τῆς μεσημβρίας φαμεν τὴν σύνοδον ἀποτελεῖσθαι. The year is $363\frac{1}{4}$ A.D. and $363 = 3 + (4 \times 90)$: the difference consists of 8 days Pauni + 30 Epeiph + 30 Mesore + 5 Epagom. + 24 Thouth = 97 = 90 + 7.

Thus the evidence of the papyri and the statements of Ptolemy and Theon are in complete accord; it may be regarded as certain that the fixed Alexandrine year was instituted in 26 B.C., and that 22 B.C. was the first year in which a day was intercalated.

This method may now be employed to determine the limits within which the horoscope, Ox. Pap. II. ccxxv. 5, must lie: the date, in which the number of the year is lost, is given thus:—

κατὰ [τὸ

ἔτος Τιβερίου μηνὶ Φαῶφι \bar{a} , κατ[ὰ δὲ τοὺς
ἀρχαίους χρόνους Φαῶφι \bar{ia} εἰς [$\overline{\iota\beta}$
ὥρα τετάρτῃ τῆς νυκτός.

The solution depends on whether the noon of Phaophi 1 corresponded to the noon of Phaophi 11 or of Phaophi 12: in the former case the difference is 10 days, and the earliest date is Sept. 29, 15 A.D., the latest Sept. 28, 18 A.D.; in the latter, the difference being 11 days, the earliest date is Sept. 29, 19 A.D., and the latest Sept. 28, 22 A.D.

It seems most probable that, in the case of dates given according to the Alexandrine calendar, the civil day was counted from midnight to midnight, in accordance with the Roman style; the authority of Pliny may be quoted in support of this inference:—*ipsum diem alii aliter observare, Umbri a meridie ad meridiem, vulgus omne a luce ad tenebras, sacerdotes Romani et qui diem finire civilem, item Aegyptii et Hipparchus a media nocte in mediam.* Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, II. 188. This statement is open to doubt

in the case of Hipparchus, and can be true of the Egyptians only after the introduction of the Alexandrine calendar; but we are justified in supposing that, when the calendar was revised, the beginning of the civil day was fixed, according to the Roman style, at midnight. The form in which dates—*κατ' Αἰγυπτίους*, or *κατ' ἀρχαίους*—of events which took place at night, are given (*e.g.* *Φαῶφι ια εἰς ιβ*), implies that in former times the Egyptians, like the *vulgus omne* of Pliny, regarded the day as extending from sunrise to sunset, and that the nights were dateless; hence, when they found it necessary to refer to the night, they were forced to speak of it as the night leading from one day to the next. Ptolemy always gives his own dates in the old Egyptian style, and various reasons have been assigned by Pétau, Ideler, and Boeckh (see Boeckh, *Sonnenkreise*, p. 301) to account for the manner in which he refers to the night: these reasons all depend on the assumption that the method was invented by Ptolemy himself; but it is now known, from instances in the unpublished Petri papyri, that this was not so, and that he merely adopted a system which had been in popular use for centuries before his time in Egypt. In dating events at night by the Alexandrine calendar this system is abandoned, and the time is given by the number of a single day. Accordingly, a civil day of twenty-four hours must have been defined, and, since the definition took place under Roman influence, we may assume that the day began at midnight.

We must next consider how the hours of the night were counted. With the single exception already discussed, when an event was recorded as taking place at a definite hour of the night, the hours were counted from sunset: this is the natural interpretation to put on such expressions as 'the fourth hour of the night' or 'the tenth hour of the night,' and is the habitual practice of Greek and Roman writers. Ptolemy, requiring greater accuracy in

the definition of time for astronomical purposes, employed a different method, and gave the time as so many hours before or after noon or midnight : for instance, in *Synt. Math.* Bk. VII., 8 p.m. is, according to Agrippa, νυκτὸς ὥρας γ' ἀρχούσης; according to Ptolemy, πρὸ δ' ὥρῶν καιρικῶν τοῦ μεσονυκτίου; and again, 4 a.m. is, according to Menelaus, ὥρας ἑ πεπληρωμένης; according to Ptolemy, μετὰ δ' ὥρας καιρικᾶς τοῦ μεσονυκτίου. But even to Ptolemy the meaning suggested by ἐπὶ τρίτης τῆς νυκτὸς ὥρας could only have been 'at the third hour after sunset.' We must therefore conclude that in the British Museum papyrus quoted above, the form of the expression is inaccurate. If then Φαῶφι \bar{a} began at midnight, and the hours of the night were counted from sunset, it follows that noon of Phaophi 1 in the Alexandrine calendar corresponded to noon of Phaophi 11 in the old style, and the birth recorded in Ox. Pap. II. ccxxxv. must have taken place on Sept. 29 in 15 A.D., or on Sept. 28 in 16, 17, or 18 A.D.

J. GILBART SMYLY.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE *PEACE* OF ARISTOPHANES.

THE new Oxford text of Aristophanes, of which the first part, containing the first six plays, has recently been published,¹ must be judged by the ideal of the Bibliotheca Oxoniensis. A text free from misprints, and as free as possible from emendations; excellent typography; a rigidly exclusive *apparatus criticus*; abstinence on the part of the editors from making original contributions to the subject. There is much to be said for this ideal, but it is difficult satisfactorily to achieve. Messrs. Hall and Geldart have corrected their proof-sheets with scrupulous and successful care, and (notwithstanding a moment of weakness, which prompted them to make known an unfortunate guess on *Peace* 612) they have been conscientious in withholding conjectures of their own.² They are exclusive and conservative; but they are, or at least seem, arbitrary in their admissions and omissions, in their condemnations and absolutions. They pass lines which are as certainly corrupt as other lines which they obelize; they omit corrections which are as probable and as worthy of consideration as those which they record.

First and foremost, I must congratulate them on their general attitude to the metrical canons which have been elaborated in recent years, on the basis of statistical

¹ *Aristophanis Comœdiæ*. Recognoverunt F. W. Hall, W. M. Geldart. Tomus I. Oxonii, e typographeo

Clarendoniano.

² For corrections adopted in the text, cp. *Peace* 892, *Birds* 1356.

studies.¹ It is far from my intention to raise a voice in deprecation of these useful investigations, but it is not out of place to protest against the wrong use which may be made of them. It is perfectly legitimate to infer from a list of cases, that Aristophanes, consciously or instinctively, avoided certain divisions of anapaests and of tribrachs; but it is quite another thing to say that he could not possibly have admitted occasionally a division which he usually eschews. The first verse of the *Ion* exhibits a 'violation' of Porson's 'canon' concerning the final cretic in a tragic trimeter; but it is an utterly false criticism to regard that verse as corrupt. The Oxford editors appositely cite *Birds* 1226,

εἰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἄρχομεν, ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ θεοί,

as a case where a pretended 'canon' for the division of the anapæst is transgressed, and there is not the smallest probability that anything is wrong with the received text. In my opinion, there is no sufficient reason to question the reading in *Wasps* 25 (ιδόντι τοιοῦτον ἐνύπνιον, where Mr. Starkie adopts a correction of the late Professor Palmer). It is otherwise when the MSS. vary. In *Clouds* 62, for example, the metrical consideration may be allowed weight, for, though the two oldest MSS., the Ravennas and the Venetus point to δὴ 'ντεῦθεν ἐλοιδορούμεθα, A and Θ give δὴ ταῦτ', so that there is something to be said for δὴ 'νταῦθ'. But it is when there are other objections to the text that such metrical generalizations as we are considering become really important as corroborative evidence. In *Clouds* 876 (καίτοι γε ταλάντου τοῦτ' ἔμαθεν Ὑπέρβουλος) καίτοι γε is suspicious,² because another word usually intervenes be-

¹ A clear conspectus of these canons will be found in the Introduction to Mr. Starkie's edition of the *Wasps*.

² This is pointed out by Mr. Starkie, *Introd. to Wasps*, xxxviii., note 4.

tween καίροι and γε, and the violation of a 'canon' of the anapaest confirms the suspicion.

We might, I think, formulate the following canon for the application of the metrical generalizations to the text of Aristophanes :—

The general usage of Aristophanes in avoiding certain divisions of anapaests and tribrachs in certain conditions, in the sparing admission of more than two resolved feet in trimeters, and other similar matters, may be used (with caution) as a criterion when the MSS. disagree ; but otherwise must not be used, except in cases where there are independent (grammatical or semasiological) grounds for suspecting the text.

It must also be remembered, that a poet may often achieve an effect by departing from the metrical or rhythmical norms which usually guide him. Most of the uncaesural lines in the *Persae* of Aeschylus have a designed and effective relation to the meaning. In anapaestic tetrameters there are two rules which justify themselves at once to anyone who has an ear for rhythm. A dactyl is not followed by an anapaest ; and a dactyl does not stand in the fourth place. But it should be recognised, that there are cases in which the very rhythmical effect which these rules aim at avoiding may be desirable. Such cases would chiefly occur when a tetrameter is divided between speakers. *Wasps* 397 is a case in point. Both rules are violated here ; yet if we divide the line in the right place, between Bdelycleon and Xanthias,¹ the jerky effect, to my ear at least, is admirable :

ΒΔ. μὰ Δι' οὐ δῆτ' ἄλλὰ καθιμῶ
αὐτὸν δήσας. ὦ μιαινότατε—. ΞΑ. τί ποιεῖς ; οὐ μὴ καταβήσει ;

Nor can I see the least reason to suspect *Clouds* 326.

But while an editor can hardly show too much reserve in regard to these metrical questions, there are other cases,

¹ The vulg. gives ὦ μιαινότατε to Xanthias.

involving metre or prosody, where laxity is equally to be deprecated. A trochee cannot stand in a dactylic system such as that in *Peace* 114-7; yet the Oxford editors have not used the obelus in 114,

ὦ πάτερ ὦ πάτερ ἄρ' ἔτυμός γε†,

nor even mentioned any of the proposed corrections in a note. In the same play, v. 1201, we have a false quantity, δραχμῶν, and the sense is defective :

νυνὶ δὲ πεντήκοντα δραχμῶν ἐμπολῶ.

The editors were quite justified, in my opinion, in refusing to accept Elmsley's correction (νυνὶ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν πεντῆδραχμα ταῦτ' ἐμπολῶ'), a good line, but involving unexplained changes, and therefore improbable. Here again the obelus should have been used. πεντήκοντα is undoubtedly corrupt. I suspect that the scythe-maker indicated not only the price of a scythe, but the increase above its normal price, and I suggest as possible :

νυνὶ δὲ πεντῆδραχμ<α> δραχμῶν <ἔπτ'> ἐμπολῶ.

πεντε was enlarged to πεντήκοντα to supplement the metre.

The editors have been diligent in expunging errors in syntax, and violations of Attic usage, which have crept into the text. In the *Parabasis* of the *Knights* they have left without mark or notice the solecism ρεύσας (v. 526), which has an interest for me. I still believe that the true reading is a correction which I proposed some years ago in HERMATHENA :

πολλῷ ῥήξας ποτ' ἐπαίνει

διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίῳ ἔρρει.

ῥήξας, 'having broken bounds,' is the precisely appropriate word.

¹ τῆμ' ἐμπολῶ would be an improvement.

The most exclusive apparatus of critical notes ought to take some notice of *Acharnians* 1093. It is difficult to discover any principle, in deference to which the editors have inserted perfectly superfluous conjectures, like Bentley's κηρίον for χωρίον in *Wasps* 850, and disregarded highly probable corrections in passages which clearly call for the corrector's hand. We wonder what explanation has satisfied them of *Knights* 814 :

ὅς ἐποίησεν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστὴν εὐρὼν ἐπιχειλῇ,

an unintelligible line, which they print as if it made sense, taking no account of Mr. Starkie's brilliant emendation, πυρῶν. *Wasps* 1020 has no construction as it stands; and I find it hard to understand how the compiler of the most exclusive apparatus could afford to ignore Mr. Starkie's ὥστ' for εἰς, a most simple and satisfactory correction. The same scholar's plausible (ἀρνός) θόλην for φωνῇ in *Wasps* 572 (which I would further support by referring to the coinage ἀρνεοθόλης) deserved to be recorded.

It is time to proceed to the chief object of this paper—remarks on passages in the *Peace*, in connexion with some of which I shall have an opportunity of hazarding some further criticisms on the Oxford text.

In v. 2 the Oxford editors have rightly followed Herwerden in punctuating after αὐτῷ, thus obviating the necessity of adopting Bentley's αὐτήν, or any other change. But in v. 6 they have strangely transgressed the conservative principles of the Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, by introducing a correction of Bergk which is wholly superfluous. The second slave (ὁ μάττων) says :

οὐ κατέφαγεν (' he never ate it,' ' he can't have eaten it '),

to which his comrade (ὁ φέρων) replies :

μὰ τὸν Δι' ἀλλ' ἐξαπάσας

ὅλην ἐνέκαψε περικυλίσας τοῖν ποδοῖν.

This is the vulgate reading with one slight modification : I have substituted a full stop for the note of interrogation after *κατέφαγεν*, and thus modified it is perfectly right. The phrase *μὰ τὸν Δί' ἄλλ'* in such a reply to a negative statement has an exact parallel in *Wasps* 173 (ΦΙΛ. οὐχ ὥσπερ γ' ἐγὼ. ΒΔ. μὰ Δί' ἄλλ' ἄμεινον.), which is sufficient to defend the passage against Bergk's change.

V. 25. If the editors could not decide to accept the simple and excellent emendation of Blaydes (*φαύλως ἐρείδει τοῦθ'· ὁ δ' ὑπὸ φρονήματος* for *ἐρείδει τοῦτο δ'*), they should certainly have mentioned it in a note.

V. 42 :

οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως
τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ τέρας οὐ Διὸς καταιβάτου.

So the MSS. ; but surely *καταιβάτου* cannot have been written by Aristophanes, for it has no point. The choice lies between Meineke's *σκαταιβάτου* and Rutherford's (or the Ravenna scholiast's) *σκαταιβότου*. There is a joke in a comic epithet modelled on *καταιβάτης*, but there would be no meaning here, either playful or serious, in *καταιβάτης* itself.

V. 95 :

τί πέτει ; τί μάτην οὐχ ὑγιαίνεις ;

(Herwerden, *τί πέτει σὺ μάτην ; οὐχ ὑγ.* ;) Perhaps *τί πότη <μα> μάτην ; οὐχ ὑγιαίνεις.*

V. 116 :

ὥς σὺ μετ' ὀρνίθων προλιπὼν ἐμὲ
ἐς κόρακας βαδιεῖ μεταμώνιος.

The words *μετ' ὀρνίθων* are, indeed, translatable ; but in this context, along with *ἐς κύρακας*, they are so perfectly frigid, that we are entitled to say they make no good sense. No word would be more appropriate here than *μετοικήσων*, and I suggest that this may be the solution, not supposing that it was directly corrupted into *μετ' ὀρνίθων*,

but that this may have come in from an adscript to the purport that Trygaeus was to be a μέτοικος among the birds.

Vv. 174-5. The Oxford editors should certainly have noted the change of punctuation suggested by Blaydes (πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἐμὲ ἤδη στροφεῖ κ. τ. λ.), which gets rid of the extremely doubtful phrase προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ὡς.

V. 180 :

πόθεν βροτοῦ με προσέβαλ' ; ὦναξ Ἡράκλεις
τουτὶ τί ἐστι τὸ κακόν ;

It has been disputed whether φωνή or ὁσμή is to be understood with προσέβαλε, but both the point and the construction of the passage have been missed. It may be asserted, without any hesitation, that to 'understand' in the grammatical sense of the term an unexpressed subject with προσέβαλε is impossible. A Greek could not have said βροτοῦ με (or μοι) προσβάλλει when he meant προσβάλλει ὁσμή. It follows that the sentence πόθεν βροτοῦ με προσέβαλ' is incomplete. The ὁσμή βρότειος has fallen so vividly and offensively on the nostrils of the god that he breaks off his question, holds his nose, and utters an ejaculation. This ought to be indicated in our texts by the sign of aposiopesis—

πόθεν βροτοῦ με προσέβαλ'—ὦναξ Ἡράκλεις
τουτὶ τί ἐστι τὸ κακόν ;

V. 316 :

οὔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν αὐτὴν ὅστις ἐξαιρήσεται.

No explanation of καὶ νῦν has been discovered. I suspect that this is a case of καὶ for μοι (as in 337, where Blaydes restores μή τί μοι νυνὶ γε χαίρει').

V. 350. This verse seems to be rightly assigned to Trygaeus by Paley, and the Oxford editors should have noticed this view.

V. 382. The Oxford editors accept without comment the unmetrical λακήσης (cp. διαλακήσασα, *Clouds* 410).

V. 420. It should have been mentioned that this line was condemned by Meineke. He is followed by Herwerden, and surely the omission of the verse is a great gain to the text.

V. 427. εἰσιόντες is inexplicable. Herwerden's ingenious εἰ' ἰόντες deserved to be mentioned.

V. 536 :

†κόλπου† γυναικῶν διατρεχουσῶν εἰς ἀγρόν.

It is satisfactory to observe that the Oxford editors have obelized κόλπου. They have even suggested βολίτου, which is certainly better than κόπρον, and better, perhaps, than any other proposal. If we could ascribe any importance to κόλπου γυναικός in the scholion, I should suggest

κάλπου γυναικὸς διατρεχούσης εἰς ἀγρόν

(κάλπου, a pitcher, with a play, possibly, on κάλπης δρόμος).

V. 605 :

πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ †αὐτῆς †ἤρξεν Φειδίας πράξας κακῶς.

No suggested alteration of αὐτῆς is acceptable. It has all the appearance of an adscript to some word which fell out, and no word would have been more natural than κακῶν. I therefore propose :

πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ἤρξε Φειδίας κακῶν πράξας κακῶς.

In this play there is a remarkable number of trochaic verses like this, without diaeresis after the fourth foot. For an exact parallel, with caesura in the fifth trochee, cp. v. 645.

V. 607 :

τὸν αὐτοδὰξ τρόπον.

Commentators pass over this phrase without explaining the construction. We must suppose that there was a col-

loquial expression, such as αὐτοδᾶξ ὀργίζεσθαι (cp. Lysistr. 681, αὐτ. ὠργισμέναι); then τὸν αὐτοδᾶξ τρόπον is a colloquial brachylogy for τὸν αὐτοδᾶξ ὀργιζομένων τρόπον, and might be indicated as such in modern texts by putting αὐτοδᾶξ in inverted commas or spaced type. For such brachylogy cp. Alexis, *Sikyonios*, fr. 206, ed. Kock, τῶν βαβαὶ βαβαί.

Vv. 608-10. The punctuation, I think, should be removed from πόλιν to ψηφίσματος, and ἐξεφύσησ' οὖν be read in 610. -Thus:

πρὶν παθεῖν τι δεινὸν αὐτός ἐξέφλεξε τὴν πόλιν,
ἐμβάλων σπινθήρα μικρὸν Μεγαρίκου ψηφίσματος.
ἐξεφύσησ' οὖν τοσοῦτον πόλεμον κ. τ. λ.

V. 740:

τοῖς φθειρσὶν πολεμοῦντας.

Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐτελεῖς ἄνδρας καὶ †ἀδύους. Read ἀλού-
τους. Cp. φθειρας δὲ καὶ τρίβωνα τήν τ' ἀλουσίαν in Aristophan, *Pythagoristes*, fr. 13, ed. Kock (ii., p. 281).

V. 961:

σείου σὺ ταχέως.

This is unmeaning, and, whether v. 960 is to be transposed or not, we should read, with the late Professor Palmer,

θείου σὺ ταχέως.

V. 1071:

εἰ γὰρ μὴ νύμφαι γε θεαὶ βάκιν ἐξαπάτασκον
μηδὲ Βάκεις θνητοὺς μηδ' αὖ τ' νύμφαι Βάκιν αὐτόν.

Herwerden's comment, 'immanis tautologia,' is not too strong. It seems unquestionable that νύμφαι is corrupt, and the probability is that it was inserted, from the previous line, to replace another word which had accidentally fallen out. The verse can be restored thus:

μηδὲ Βάκεις θνητοὺς μηδ' αὖ βάκ<ιδες Βάκ>ιν αὐτόν.

This accounts for the corruption, and gives a good point. Hierocles and his fellows are the supreme deceivers.

V. 1079:

χῆ †κώδων ἀκαλανθῖς ἐπειγομένη τυφλὰ τίκτει.

The ingenious corrections introducing ὠδίνω (κῶδίνουσ' Blaydes), or ὠδίς (ἦ τ' ὠδῖν' van Lennep) are not satisfactory diplomatically. What we expect is an epithet which an oracle might apply either to the bird (*fringilla carduelis*), or to the bird's name. The name ἀκαλανθῖς (cp. ἀκαλ-ήφη) and the equivalent name ἀκανθῖς connote spikes, or pricks. I therefore propose:

χῆ κνώδων ἀκαλανθῖς ἐπειγομένη τυφλὰ τίκτει,

'the spiky finch.' It is probable that κνώδων (ὀδοῦς) was originally an adjective.

J. B. BURY.

OBSERVATIONS ON DR. MERRY'S *ODYSSEY*.

THE following notes are intended for junior students, thousands of whom every year use Dr. Merry's admirable edition. Some of these observations may possibly recommend themselves to Dr. Merry for use in future editions. Even if none of them should, no harm will have been done by putting them forward. The larger edition (extra fcap., 8vo, 2 vols.) of 1895, 1896, Clarendon Press, has been taken as representing Dr. Merry's latest views. On the whole, the edition would be improved, in my judgment, by a freer use of brackets to indicate plainly spurious passages; and new forms now generally recognised, such as the gen. in -oo, should find a place in the text.

III. 10 :

οἱ δ' ἰθὺς κατάγοντο ἰδ' ἰστία νηὸς εἴσης.

If this verse is sound, it is almost the only place where ἰδέ is elided, though ἦδ' is changed to ἰδ' by a conjecture otherwise also unsatisfactory in Soph. *Ant.* 969. In δ. 604 Dr. Merry reads ἦδ'. In B. 571, which is admittedly post-Homeric, ἰδ' is elided, but it is also without the digamma. Here we could easily read καί, or ἦδ' as Dindorf would in every case where, as in the present, ἰδέ is assumed to have the initial digamma found in the verbal root ἰδ, with which, of course, the conjunction has no connexion.

III. 49 :

ἀλλὰ νεώτερος ἐστίν, ὁμηλική δ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ.

Here ὁμηλική is plainly an abstract substantive, and is so explained by Dr. Merry, 'there is to me equality of

age with him,' but in ζ. 23, in the verse, ἧ οἱ ὀμηλική μὲν ἔην, κεχάριστο δὲ θυμῷ, the same word is either regarded as an adjective, or as an instance of the use of an abstract for a concrete noun. But ὀμηλική is never an adjective = ὀμη-λιξ, else we should sometimes meet ὀμηλίκιος, which would have certainly been used in the passage before us. It would seem impossible that ὀμηλική, an abstract noun = *aequalitas*, should be used for a concrete *aequalis*. What would be said of using *iuventus* for *iuvenis*, or *adolescentia* for *adolescens*? What other example is there in Greek of an abstract substantive always used collectively, except in a couple of passages where it is used of an individual, but where there is an easy remedy of such an anomaly? In M. 213,

οὐδὲ ἔοικε

δῆμον ἔοντα παρὲξ ἀγορεύεμεν,

cannot be right: δῆμος = δημότης is surely impossible. There should be no hesitation in reading δῆμου for δῆμον with Bentley, who settles the matter by comparing B. 198,

ὃν δ' αὖ δῆμου ἄνδρα ἴδοι βοόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι.

Possibly the erroneous reading gave rise to Horace's strange expression, *plebs eris*, in Ep. I. 1, 59.

'Ομηλική is rightly used for a body of *aequales* in γ. 364,

πάντες ὀμηλική μεγαθύμοο Τηλεμάχοιο.

In ζ. 23 we should read, not ἧ, but ἧ οἱ ὀμηλική μὲν ἔην, and in χ. 209 ὀμηλική δέ μοί ἐστι, not ἐσσι.

IV. 621-847 :

This whole passage, in which the scene shifts to the palace of Odysseus, bears all the marks of a later addition. Lines 621-624, which describe a very un-Homeric ξρανος, betray the fact that the 226 verses which pourtray a scene in Ithaca are an interpolation in a book called τὰ ἐν

Λακεδαιμόνι. The following anomalies of diction and construction are further signs of spuriousness:—634, *χρεὼ γίνεται* with *gen.* after *χρεὼ* together with the *accus.* and *infin.*, a fusion of two constructions separately legitimate; 639, *που αὐτοῦ ἀγρῶν*, 'somewhere there on the estate,' which is not vindicated by *ἄλλοθι γαίης*, β. 131; 646, *βίη ἀέκοντος*, which is post-Homeric, nor can *ἀέκοντος* be a *gen. absol.*, this construction being confined to participles; 667, *κακὸν* = 'our ruin'; 684, *μή μνηστεύσαντες μηδ' ἄλλοθ' ὀμλήσαντες*, a wrong construction, wrongly based on λ. 613, where there is a negative wish, while the wish here is positive; 791–794, a simile un-Homeric in conception and expression; 802, the entrance of the phantom Iphthime through the keyhole is quite un-Homeric; 809, *κνώσσουσα* is post-Homeric.

V. 1:

ἥως δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο.

The spondee in the fourth foot ending a word is very rare. Read *ἀγαυόο* here, and *Αἰόλοο* in κ. 60; *μεγαθύμοο* in γ. 364; *δήμοο* in ξ. 239; *ἦό' ἱκοιτο* in ρ. 497; *ἦόα δ' αὖτε* in ψ. 243.

V. 132:

ἀργῇτι κεραυνῷ

Ζεὺς ἔλσας ἐκέασσε.

The verb *ἔλσας* is hardly suitable. Perhaps *ἐλάσας*: cp. 313,

ὥς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντ' ἔλασεν μέγα κύμα κατ' ἄκρης.

I find Zenodotus has anticipated this suggestion.

VI. 183: Read *νοήμασι οἶκον ἔχητον*.

VII. 33:

οὐδ' ἀγαπαζόμενοι φιλέουσ' ὅς κ' ἄλλοθεν ἔλθῃ.

It is true that *ἀγαπάζομαι* is deponent in ρ. 35, φ. 224, and that *φιλεῖν* is used with the *part.*, but a far more

usual construction would be obtained by reading ἀγαπαζέμεναι.

VII. 107 :

καιροσέων.

This is a very strange form. The adjective is καιρόεις, from καῖρος, 'woof.' Why not καιροισσέων? For the synizesis cp. ὄγδοον dissyll. η. 261. Ahrens would read καιρουσέων, denying that οε can coalesce; certainly εο can, as in ἀέλπτοντες σόον εἶναι, H. 310.

VII. 114 :

ἔνθα δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκασι τηλεθώοντα.

The shortening of the penult in πεφύκασι is very strange. The only other instance is λελόγχᾱσι in λ. 304, where we could read λελόγχασ' ἴσα θεοῖσι (for the absence of the digamma in ἴσα cp. N. 176). Here perhaps we should read πεφύκει, or πεφύασιν with synizesis.

VIII. 266-368 :

The song of Demodocus is certainly post-Homeric. The notes are:—271, Ἥλιος for Ἡέλιος, only found here; 283, εἶσατ' ἵμεν, 'made a show of going,' a straining of the proper usage, which is merely 'seemed'; 292, τραπέλομεν coupled with λέκτρονδε, which shows that the writer took it from τρέπεσθαι, not from τέρπεσθαι, unless the writer by δεῦρο λέκτρονδε meant 'let us to bed,' which is unlikely; 318, ἀποδώσει, which ought to be in the subjunctive; 329, ἀρετῇ, 'prosper,' a post-Homeric word only found in another spurious passage, τ. 114; 325, 355, εἰάων, 'good things,' a word characteristic of the post-Homeric portions of the poems; 364, where the Charites are described as handmaidens of Aphrodite, while Homer recognises them only as goddesses of grace and beauty, which they confer

on mortals; in σ. 194 they form the χορός of Aphrodite, but here they wash and anoint her. For χάριτες in Dr. Merry's edition read Χάριτες.

IX. 143 :

καί τις θεὸς ἡγεμόνευε
νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην οὐδὲ προὔφαινετ' ἰδέσθαι.

The more normal Homeric usage would demand προὔφαινε *Φιδέσθαι*.

XI. 598 :

λᾶας ἀναιδῆς.

The 'brute stone' is so called because it has no pity; it is 'unyielding' (ἀναιδέος ἔχματα πέτρης, N. 139); it is unsympathising. So Pindar, in *Nem.* xi. 59, calls Ambition, ἀναιδῆς, 'unmerciful,' because it besets man; like Grace in the hymn, it 'will not let him go.'

XIII. 358 :

νῦν δ' εὐχολῆς ἀγανησι
χαίρετε.

'Receive my greeting' is the meaning of χαίρετε, and this seems to settle the meaning of the word in νῦν πᾶσι χαίρω, *Soph., Oed. R.* 596, 'now I have greeting of all men.'

XIV. 425 :

κόψε δ' ἀνασχόμενος σχίζει δρυὸς ἦν λίπε κείων.

This is generally understood to mean 'drawing himself up (to give force to the blow), he smote (the hog) with the billet which he had left (undivided) as he was splitting (wood).' But we do not find κείων = κείζων elsewhere, and the use of λίπε and of a pres. part. is strange. It would seem better to take κείων in its usual sense of 'going to

bed.' When drowsiness overtook him at his work the night before, he had left the billet there, instead of chopping it smaller, and stacking with the firewood. Hence it now served him for a weapon.

XV. 99 :

θάλαμον . . . κηώντα.

This word and κηώδης are usually connected with καίω, and supposed to refer to burnt incense and its fragrance. But it seems far better to refer the words to the root *cav*. The epithet κηώδης is applied to a woman's bosom. The common idea is, doubtless, to be found in the vaulted ceiling of a chamber and the rounded contour of the female breast.

XV. 367 :

τήν μὲν ἔπειτα Σάμηνδ' ἔδοσαν.

'They gave her in marriage (to go) to Same.' In K. 268 perhaps we should read, not Σκάνδειαν δ' ἄρα δῶκε, where the accus. of the *terminus ad quem* is unsupported, but Σκάνδειάνδε δ' ἔδωκε.

XVI. 2 :

ἐντύνοντο ἄριστον ἄμ' ἡοῖ κηαμένω πῦρ.

Read

ἐντύνοντ' ἄριστον ἄμ' ἡοῖ κηαμένω πῦρ.

The reading ἐντύνοντο, which survives in Dr. Merry's last edition, would mislead students as to the quantity of the first syllable of ἄριστον, 'breakfast.'

XVI. 138 :

For ἦ read ἥ, which is the right reading, and the reading commented on in the note. The same misprint is uncorrected in ω. 238, and a similar in ω. 190.

XVII. 399 :

μύθῳ ἀναγκαίῳ· μὴ τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσειε.

This involves the illegitimate caesura of the dactyl in the fourth foot. We should probably read *μὴ τοῦτό γε θεὸς τελέσειε*. The *γε* would have been omitted by a copyist who did not understand the rule about the dactyl in the fourth foot, and who disliked *θεὸς* monosyllable.

XVII. 555 :

πεπαθυῖη.

It seems impossible that this should be a form of the participle of *πέπονθα*. Another supposed part of *πέπονθα* is *πέποσθε* = *πεπόνθατε*. If we could take the latter from *πέπομαι* a perf. mid. of *πίνω* (we meet *πεπόσθαι*, an inf. from *πίνω*, in *Theogn.* 477), we could suppose a natural metaphor from drinking the cup of tribulation (the form occurs only in the phrase *κακὰ πολλὰ πέποσθε*), and we could here read *πεποκυῖη*, a natural Homeric by-form of *πεπωκυῖα*. It must be admitted that the 'cup of affliction' lacks support in Greek, but the metaphor is a very natural one.

XIX. 109-114 :

ὥς τε τευ ἢ βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος, ὃς τε θεοῦδης
ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἀνάσσω
εὐδικίας ἀνέχῃσι, φέρῃσι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα
πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς, βρίθῃσι δὲ δένδρεα καρπῷ,
τίκτη δ' ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθῦς,
ἐξ εὐγεσείης, ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

This simile is inserted by a post-Homeric interpolator. The subjunctives after the first are out of place, we have the un-Homeric word *ἀρετῶσι*, and the conception of the sea as supplying man with food betrays a later hand. The Homeric heroes do not eat fish unless pressed by famine. It is interesting to find arguments of this kind confirming those based on the apparently less sure grounds of diction.

XIX. 255 :

αὐτὴ γὰρ τάδε εἶματ' ἐγὼ πόρον οὔ' ἀγορεύεις,
πτύξας' ἐκ θαλάμου.

The ellipse of some word meaning 'taking them' before ἐκ θαλάμου justifies the reading ἐγκλάσασα in *Bacchylides*, v. 142 : καί τε δαιδαλέας ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον φιγρὸν ἐγκλάσασα, 'she burned the log (taken) from the figured chest wherein she had enclosed it.'

XXI. 407 :

ῥηιδίως ἐτάνυσσε νέφ' περὶ κόλλοπι χορδὴν.

There does not seem to be much point in calling the peg 'new.' Perhaps we should read

ῥηιδίως ἐτάνυσσεν ἐφ' περὶ κόλλοπι χορδὴν.

XXII. 126-130 :

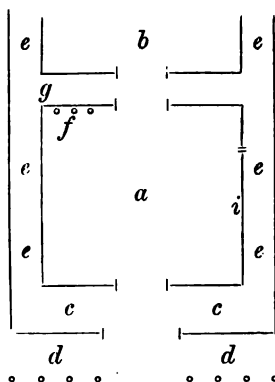
ὀρσοθύρη δέ τις ἔσκεν ἐνδμήτῃ ἐνὶ τοίχῳ,
ἀκρότατον δὲ παρ' οὐδὸν ἐυσταθέος μεγάρου
ἦν ὁδὸς ἐς λαύρην, σανίδες δ' ἔχον εὖ ἀραρυῖαι.
τὴν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς φράζεσθαι ἀνώγει διὸν ὑφορβὸν
ἔσταός' ἄγχ' αὐτῆς μία δ' οἷη γίγνεται ἐφορμή.

My contributions to the understanding of this passage only go as far as the pressing of the meaning of παρὰ with the accus., and a slight difference of opinion as to the position of the ἐφορμή. It will be necessary, however, to give a view of the whole situation. I have borrowed Dr. Merry's plan. J. L. Myers, in a learned and ingenious article in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xx., p. 128, gives a quite different plan, regarding the Homeric House as conforming to the Mycenaean, not the Hellenic, type. One point made by him (though not necessarily connected with his main thesis) is very interesting and important. He has fully established that the Homeric use of ἀνὰ and

κατὰ with regard to the Homeric *μέγαρον* reverses the usage of English phraseology, according to which to go 'up' the hall is to go *away* from the entrance, and to go 'down' the hall is to go *towards* the door. In the *Odyssey* *κατὰ* is the regular word for motion *inwards*, and *ἀνά* for motion *outwards*. This usage holds good for towns also; a person coming *into* a town goes *κατὰ ἄστυ* or *δῆμον*, one going *out* goes *ἀνά*.

For the meaning of the accus. after *παρὰ* cp. σ. 206, *κατίβαιν' ὑπερώια*, 'walked down along.' We cannot understand the passage unless we suppose that the *ὀρσοθύρη* or 'postern' was in the wall in the interior of the *μέγαρον* near the women's apartment. The suitors occupied this part of the *μέγαρον*, while Odysseus and his party stood within the entrance to the *μέγαρον* from the *αὐλή* near the *πρόδομος*. Now the only way of reaching the *ὀρσοθύρη* was by going along the *οὐδός*, the plinth (a raised subbase or projecting dado tapering up from the floor) which ran round the whole room about five feet from the ground. It had on the top a cornice or ledge broad enough to allow a man to walk on it. There was only one way of mounting on the *οὐδός*, probably a little ladder or flight of steps, which is called *ἐφορμή*, 'the approach.' This must have been somewhat nearer to Odysseus' end of the hall, as Odysseus charges the swineherd to take his stand close to it. By going along the top of this *οὐδός* (reached by the *ἐφορμή*), *ἀκρότατον παρ' οὐδὸν*, one would arrive at the *ὀρσοθύρη* or door in the wall, through which one could reach the *λαύρη* or corridor. Agelaus proposes that someone should try to reach the *ὀρσοθύρη*, and through it the *λαύρη*, and so get out and bring in succour from the town. Melanthius urges that to accomplish this you must come too near the entrance, and the opening of the corridor into the *πρόδομος* is 'a parlous spot,' being commanded by the bow of Odysseus. Hence he scrambles up to the loopholes

(ῥῶγες) in the wall which gave light to the κλίμαξ which led to the ὑπερώιον.



- a.* μέγαρον. *b.* Apartment of the women. *cc.* πρόδομος. *dd.* αἴθουσα.
eee. λαύρη. *f.* ῥῶγες μεγάροιο. *g.* κλίμαξ leading to ὑπερώιον and θάλαμος.
h. ὁροσθύρη with two approaches, one from μέγαρον, the other from λαύρη.
i. ἐφορμή.

XXIII. 156-162 :

This is an interpolation from ζ. 229-236, where the lines are appropriate. The tautology in κεφαλῆς and κάρη-ρος is quite intolerable. Again, 218-224 has been rightly rejected by the Alexandrine critics. A longer interpolation is 300-343, where the writer makes Odysseus speak of himself in the third person, and calls the sirens ἀδιναί, misapprehending ἀδινόν φθόγγον in τ. 516.

XXIV. :

The lines 1-204 of the last book have been generally regarded as spurious, and should be marked as such. Dr. Merry gives the arguments of Aristarchus against its genuineness. Hermes is not elsewhere either ψυχοπομπός, or 'Cyllenian,' in Homer. The Muses are nine in number in l. 60, while in Homer, when more than one muse is mentioned, the number is indefinite. Further, the Nereids

are *θεαί* in 67, *βολῆσιν* (which ought to mean 'the throwing of missiles,' as in ρ. 283) means 'missiles' in 161, and nothing could be more un-Homeric than 197-8—

τεύξουσι δ' ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδὴν
ἀθάνατοι χάριεσσιν ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ.

XXIV. 190 :

For *κατθέμενον* read *κατθέμενοι*.

Again, 386 to the end is quite unworthy of the poet of the *Odyssey*, and is full of un-Homeric expressions, like *δείπνῳ ἐπεχείρειον* 386, *τίς νύ μοι ἡμέρη ἦδε, θεοὶ φίλοι* 514, and (worst of all) *θεῆς ὅπα φωνησάσης* 535, where *ὅπα* must be governed by *φωνησάσης*. The interpolator doubtless remembered (and misunderstood) B. 182, *ξυνέηκε θεῆς ὅπα φωνησάσης*, where *ὅπα* is governed by *ξυνέηκε*.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

THE QUASI-CAESURA IN VERGIL.

THE importance to the rhythm of the hexameter of a caesura in the third foot is generally recognized. Some confine the definition of the penthemimeral caesura to the 'strong' species, where the break is after the first long syllable of the third foot. In this paper I include also the 'weak' or 'trochaic,' the *τομή κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον*, where the break is after the first short syllable of a dactyl in the third foot. When we consider the prevalence¹ of this trochaic caesura in Greek hexameters, and reflect how sensitive the Roman ear was to its rhythmic effect—so sensitive that Cicero wrote *mihi crede*, lest *crede mihi* should give a suggestion of verse—and when we feel where our metrical sense is first awakened in such a line as the following²:

Apparet domus intus, et atria longa patescunt

Aen. ii. 483 ;

and when we find that in Verg. *Aen.* ii., out of 804 lines, 673 have the strong, 85 the weak caesura, and 46 neither, and in *Aen.* xii., of 950 lines, 792 have the strong, 129 the weak, and 29 neither (*i.e.* that in these books there is a

¹ In Hom. *Il.* xxii., in the first 100 lines, there are 54 with trochaic, or weak caesura, 35 with strong caesura, 10 with both and one with neither. In the second 100 lines there are 50 with trochaic, 42 with strong, 7 with both, and one (in which a proper name fills the third foot) with neither.

² Cf. *Aen.* iii. 644, 707 ; iv. 316, 486 ; v. 781, 785 ; vii. 711 ; x. 24, 95,

where the trochaic caesura of the third is supported only by the trihemimeral caesura, or the quasi-caesura. In iv. 486,

Spargens humida mella soporiterumque
papaver,

it has no support except another trochaic caesura that is latent in the compound word.

weak, and not a strong, caesura in about one-eighth of the total number of lines), I think we must admit the metrical power of this trochaic caesura, and allow it to be regarded as a penthemimeral caesura, though the term may be not strictly applicable.

We are truly told that the penthemimeral caesura is of itself sufficient to make a verse harmonious, *e.g.*—

Pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae.

Aen. ii. 51.

Res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus.

Aen. iii. 54.

But when it is added that, when the penthemimeral caesura is absent there must be found both the trihemimeral and the hepthemimeral—and by penthemimeral caesura is here meant only the strong form—we must ask leave to dissent.

Praecipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.

Aen. ii. 9,

is surely a musical line; and if we propose to ourselves the question where we begin to feel that we are reading verse, we must, I think, answer that it is when we perceive that the *ictus* falls on the unaccented final syllable of *praecipitat*, and that we become sure of the rhythm when we come to the trochaic caesura of the third foot. Is there then any law which in Vergil governs the omission of the penthemimeral caesura in this wide sense? On examining the lines which have no caesura in the third foot, we shall find that there is an *elision before the third foot* in about 70 per cent. of them, and that the rest admit of explanation on special grounds. The analogy of this phenomenon to the 'quasi-caesura' in Greek iambics will strike everyone. Before developing the analogy I must seek to establish the law. The following are all the lines in *Aen.* v. which have no break in the

third foot. Those marked with an asterisk are also without elision before the third foot, and are seeming exceptions to the proposed rule :—

1. Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat.
18. Spondeat, hoc sperem Italian contingere caelo.
30. Obstipuit visum Aeneas: ille agmine longo.
- *127. Tranquillo silet, *inmole* attolitur unda.
133. Ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori.
170. Radit iter laevum interior, subitoque priorem.
250. Victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum.
- *260. Loricam, quam *Demoleo* detraxerat ipse.
285. Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa.
310. Corripiunt spatia auxilio, limenque relinquunt.
327. Iamque fere spatii extremo fessique sub ipsam.
- *343. Tutatur favor *Euryalum*, lacrimaeque decorae.
390. Haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco.
405. Terga boam plumbe insuto ferroque rigeant.
- *407. Magnanimusque *Archisiades* et pondus et ipsa.
- *418. Ilique pio sedet *Aeneas*, probat auctor Acestes.
434. Multa cavo lateri ingeminant et pectore vastos.
450. Ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem.
443. Ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus, et alte.
468. Ast illum fidi aequales genua aegra trahentem.
472. Accipiant: palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt.
514. Tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit.
522. Hic oculis subitum obicitur, magnoque futurum.
625. Infelix! cui te exitio Fortuna reservat.
620. Septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas.
641. Haec memorans, prima infensum vi corripit ignem.
654. At matres primo ancipites, oculisque malignis.
- *662. Coniciunt. Furit *immissis* Vulcanus habenis.
- *673. Accelerat simul *Aeneas*, simul agmina Teucrum.
- *678. Saxa petunt; piget *incepti* lucisque, suosque.
714. Pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est.
710. Et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est.
735. Care magis, natæ, Iliacis exercite fatis.

760. Fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos.

790. Quam molem subito excierit : maria omnia caelo.

814. Unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres.

In these 36 instances of the omitted caesura in the third foot, there are only eight (marked by an asterisk) which have not an elision before it. Of these eight, five (260, 343, 407, 418, 675) admit of the all-covering plea of a *proper name*, which gains indulgence for even an anapaest in the fourth foot of a senarius. The other three I would defend on the principle of the *detachable character of a preposition, or similar word, in composition*. This latter, so common in Greek, is, in Latin, familiar to us from,

Hostile aratrum *ex*|ercitus insolens

HORACE, C. I. xvi. 21 ;

Dum flagrantia *de*|torquet ad oscula

ID. *ib.* II. xii. 25 ;

and, as we can see in line 127 above, applies to the negative prefix *in-* (cp. Hor., *A. P.* 263). It will be observed that the elision generally occurs before a similarly compounded word (*e.g.* 133, 170, 295, &c.), and it may be asked why we should not adopt this generally as a sufficient compensation for the lack of the caesura. I have no more doubt that the occurrence of such a compound after the elision helps the metre than I have that the trihemimeral and hepthemimeral caesuras (and, of course, the cadence in the fifth and sixth), which also nearly always are found along with the quasi-caesura, help the metre. But the principle of 'separable compound' will not account for such cases as 250, 316, 468 ; and the number of instances where elision before the third foot is found to compensate for absence of a caesura in that foot forces us to believe that Vergil felt the metrical effect of that elision. If this were not so, what was to prevent his writing in 790,

Quam molem *excierit subito* ; maria omnia caelo ?

I proceed now to examine *Aen.* vii., which was perhaps

third foot. Those marked with an asterisk are also without elision before the third foot, and are seeming exceptions to the proposed rule :—

1. Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat.
18. Spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.
90. Obstipuit visu Aeneas : ille agmine longo.
- *127. Tranquillo silet, *inmotaque* attolitur unda.
133. Ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori.
170. Radit iter laevum interior, subitoque priorem.
250. Victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum.
- *260. Loricam, quam *Demoleo* detraxerat ipse.
295. Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa.
316. Corripiunt spatia auxilio, limenque relinquunt.
327. Iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam.
- *343. Tutatur favor *Euryalum*, lacrimaeque decorae.
399. Haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuenco.
405. Terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigeant.
- *407. Magnanimusque *Anchisiades* et pondus et ipsa.
- *418. Idque pio sedet *Aeneae*, probat auctor Acestes.
434. Multa cavo lateri ingeminant et pectore vastos.
439. Ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem.
443. Ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus, et alte.
468. Ast illum fidi aequales genua aegra trahentem.
472. Accipiunt ; palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt.
514. Tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit.
522. Hic oculis subitum obicitur, magnoque futurum.
625. Infelix ! cui *te* exitio Fortuna reservat.
626. Septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas.
641. Haec memorans, prima infensum vi corripit ignem.
654. At matres primo ancipites, oculisque malignis.
- *662. Coniciunt. Furit *immissis* Vulcanus habenis.
- *675. Accelerat simul *Aeneas*, simul agmina Teucrum.
- *678. Saxa petunt ; piget *incepti* lucisque, suosque.
714. Pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est.
716. Et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est.
725. Care magis, *nate*, Iliacis exercite fatis.

760. Fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos.

790. Quam molem subito excierit : maria omnia caelo.

814. Unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres.

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Hostile aratrum ex|ercitus insolens

HORACE, C. I. xvi. 21 ;

Dum fragrantia de|torquet ad oscula

ID. *ib.* II. xii. 25 ;

and, as we can see in line 127 above, applies to the negative prefix *in-* (cp. Hor., *A. P.* 263). It will be observed that the elision generally occurs before a similarly compounded word (*e.g.* 133, 170, 295, &c.), and it may be asked why we should not adopt this generally as a sufficient compensation for the lack of the caesura. I have no more doubt that the occurrence of such a compound after the elision helps the metre than I have that the trihemimeral and hepthemimeral caesuras (and, of course, the cadence in the fifth and sixth), which also nearly always are found along with the quasi-caesura, help the metre. But the principle of 'separable compound' will not account for such cases as 250, 316, 468 ; and the number of instances where elision before the third foot is found to compensate for absence of a caesura in that foot forces us to believe that Vergil felt the metrical effect of that elision. If this were not so, what was to prevent his writing in 790,

Quam molem excierit subito ; maria omnia caelo ?

I proceed now to examine *Aen.* vii., which was perhaps

the last book Vergil composed. In it we find a far smaller number of lines without a caesura in the third foot, but the proportion of these remedied by quasi-caesura about the same:—

- 177. Quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum.
- 212. Dixerat; et dicta Ilioneus sic voce secutus.
- 231. Non erimus regno indecores, nec vestra feretur.
- *257. Auspiciis; huic *progeniem* virtute futuram.
- 277. Instratos ostro alipedes pictisque tapetis.
- *294. Fata Phrygum! num *Sigeis* occumbere campis.
- 299. Quin etiam patria excussos infesta per undas.
- *333. Fama loco, neu *conubiis* ambire Latinum.
- 380. Intenti ludo exercent, ille actus habena.
- 428. Ipsa palam *fari* omnipotens Saturnia iussit.
- 435. Hic iuvenis, *vatem* irridens, sic orsa vicissim.
- 443. Cura tibi *divum* effigies et templa tueri.
- 572. Nec minus interea extremam Saturnia bello.
- 623. Ardet inexcita Ausonia atque immobilis ante.
- *704. Misceri putet *aeriam* sed gurgite vasto.
- 748. Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes.
- 775. Sedibus, et nymphæ Egeriae nemorique relegat.

Of the four seeming exceptions to the law in these seventeen instances of omitted caesura, 257 and 333 are explained by the 'detachable prefix,' 294 by the principle of the proper name, and 704 perhaps by an extension of the latter principle; *aeriam* being a word of Greek origin might be felt to have some claim to indulgence, though its use by Lucretius suggests a different explanation. It is worth remarking, that the proportion of lines with only the weak caesura in the third foot has not sensibly diminished in this book, there being 85 to 715 with the strong. There are 49 cases where elision occurs before a strong caesura in the third foot, as—

- 16. Vincla recusantum et sera sub nocte rudentum,

which tends to show that the Ancients felt its metrical

power in this place more than we do. Their pronunciation must have marked its existence in a way we cannot hope to realise, if there be any truth in the story that the whole theatre was convulsed with laughter at the mispronunciation of Eur. *Orest.* 279 : αὐθις αὖ γαλήν' ὄρω, as if it were γαλήν ὄρω (see on Ar. *Ran.* 304).

Let us now take *Georgic* i. as representing Vergil's early style, when he had wrought his 'stateliest measure' to perfection. There are twelve lines which have no caesura in the third foot :—

- 46. Ingemere, et sulco attritus splendescere vomer.
- 81. Effetos cinerem immundum iactare per agros.
- 106. Deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentes.
- 119. Versando terram experti, nihil improbus anser.
- 196. Et, quamvis igni exiguo, properata maderent.
- 201. Non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum.
- 255. Conveniat, quando armatas deducere classes.
- 300. Frigoribus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur.
- 323. Sublimem expulsam eruerent; ita turbine nigro.
- *350. Det motus *incompositos* et carmina dicat.
- 399. Dilectae Thetidi alcyones; non ore solutos.
- *482. Fluviorum rex *Eridanus*, camposque per omnes.

The compound word in 350, and the proper name in 482, are sufficient to account for the absence of the dominant caesura in these lines, and surely no one will contend that it was a mere accident, that in all the rest an elision is found before the third foot.

In *Aen.* i. (756 lines) there are 34 cases of no caesura in the third foot, in 24 of which there is elision before that foot. The 10 seeming exceptions are to be accounted for, 5 by the principle of proper names, 4 by the principle of detachable prefix. The remaining exception to the rule—

224. Despiciens mare *velivolum* terrasque iacentes,
may be explained by the occurrence of a *compound* word, or by the fact that this word is a Lucretian echo. '

In the first book of Lucretius, out of 1110 lines, there are, strange to say, only 50 without a caesura in the third foot; but while 18 of these can be explained by the 'detachable prefix,' only 7 have an elision before the third. In the rest we find such words as *montivagae omnimodis*, in which the composition is felt, or technical words (that may perhaps be regarded as entitled to the privileges of proper names), such as *corporibus*, *corporea*, *materies*, in several cases. I may here mention that Catull. lxiv. (405 lines) in only five instances (18, 128, 193, 196, 248) neglects caesura in the third foot, of which two have the quasi-caesura,¹ two are explained by the principle of separable compound, and one, 193—

Eumenides quibus *anguino* redimita capillo—

¹ Lachmann, on *Lucret.* vi. 1067, recognises the power of the quasi-caesura, when, proposing what Munro calls a 'most unrhythmical verse,'

Quae memorare queam inter singillariter
apta,

he writes 'nec versui sua deest caesura, quae est inter syllabas conliguescentes,' and quotes *Lucret.* iii. 258, 612, 715; v. 165; vi. 197. He did not notice the help to the metre afforded in these and such lines by the 'detachable prefix,' or he would not have suggested the alteration of Lucilius iv. 17, from *Scipiadae magno improbus* to *Improbu' Scipiadae magno*, where the elision of -s before *Sc.* is very harsh. The principle of detachable prefix is for Lucretius a far more frequent compensation for the omission of the caesura than the quasi-caesura. This may serve to explain Vergil, *Aen.* xi. 758, and xii. 144, which Lachmann defends by a quasi-caesura in the fourth foot. In Hor. *Sat.* II. iii. 134:

An tu reris eum occisa | insanisse parente,

it is surely perverse of Lachmann to place the quasi-caesura in the fourth instead of in the third foot: and the same remark applies to *Propert.* ii. xvii. 11:

Quem modo felicem invidia | admirante ferebant

(which he has marked thus), and to *Silius*, viii. 327, xii. 146, and Statius, *Theb.* iii. 71, and *Juv.* x. 358, xiv. 108. One would have said that Lachmann, had he devoted the attention to Vergil that he did to Lucretius, would inevitably have hit on the rule of the quasi-caesura, but that he says that the only hexameters from Ennius to Juvenal 'non legitime incisos' are Hor. *Sat.* II. iii. 181, and *A. P.* 263; and *Silius*, viii. 530, Vulturum quasque evertere silentia Amyclae, the first two of which are defensible by 'detachable prefixes,' and the last is quite Vergilian, except that Vergil, as is natural from his fondness for a spondee in the fourth foot, has a strong instead of a weak caesura in the fourth, after a quasi-caesura in the third.

seems to me onomatopoeitic. In many instances elision before the third aids a weak caesura, *e.g.*—

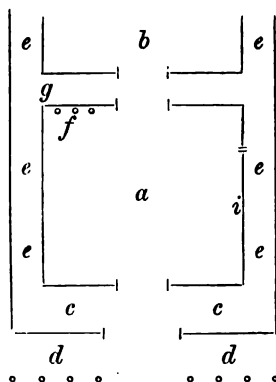
79. Cecropiam solitam esse dapem dare Minotau^{ro}.

288. Non vacuos; namque ille tulit radicitus altas.

The following table will, I trust, convince any who are still doubtful. The apparent exceptions to the rule, that Vergil uses a quasi-caesura in the absence of a penthemimeral caesura, are divided under three heads—(a) cases of proper names; (b) cases where a separable compound explains the absence of caesura or quasi-caesura; and (c) cases that necessitate some other explanations.

	Number of Lines.	Without Caesura in 3rd foot.	With Quasi- caesura.	Seeming Exceptions.		
				<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
Eclogues, . . .	850	11	7	1	1	2
Georgics i., . . .	514	12	10	1	1	—
„ ii., . . .	541	14	9	—	2	3
„ iii., . . .	566	15	10	1	4	—
„ iv., . . .	566	16	11	1	4	—
Aeneid i., . . .	756	34	24	5	4	1
„ ii., . . .	804	46	34	4	6	2
„ iii., . . .	718	21	14	3	2	2
„ iv., . . .	705	26	22	2	2	—
„ v., . . .	871	36	28	5	3	—
„ vi., . . .	901	34	23	5	5	1
„ vii., . . .	817	17	13	1	2	1
„ viii., . . .	731	24	14	3	5	2
„ ix., . . .	817	36	20	6	8	2
„ x., . . .	908	33	18	6	9	—
„ xi., . . .	915	30	24	—	5	1
„ xii., . . .	950	29	21	3	3	2
	12,930	434	302	47	66	19

(ῥῶγες) in the wall which gave light to the κλίμαξ which led to the ὑπερώιον.



a. μέγαρον. *b.* Apartment of the women. *cc.* πρόδομος. *dd.* αἴθουσα.
eee. λαύρη. *f.* ῥῶγες μεγάροιο. *g.* κλίμαξ leading to ὑπερώιον and θάλαμος.
h. δροσθύρη with two approaches, one from μέγαρον, the other from λαύρη.
i. ἐφορμή.

XXIII. 156-162 :

This is an interpolation from ζ. 229-236, where the lines are appropriate. The tautology in κεφαλῆς and κάρη-
 τος is quite intolerable. Again, 218-224 has been rightly
 rejected by the Alexandrine critics. A longer interpolation
 is 300-343, where the writer makes Odysseus speak of
 himself in the third person, and calls the sirens ἀδιναί,
 misapprehending ἀδινόν φθόγγον in τ. 516.

XXIV. :

The lines 1-204 of the last book have been generally
 regarded as spurious, and should be marked as such.
 Dr. Merry gives the arguments of Aristarchus against its
 genuineness. Hermes is not elsewhere either ψυχοπομπός,
 or 'Cyllenian,' in Homer. The Muses are nine in number
 in l. 60, while in Homer, when more than one muse is
 mentioned, the number is indefinite. Further, the Nereids

are *θεαί* in 67, *βολῆσιν* (which ought to mean 'the throwing of missiles,' as in ρ. 283) means 'missiles' in 161, and nothing could be more un-Homeric than 197-8—

τεύξουσι δ' ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδὴν
ἀθάνατοι χάριεσσιν ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ.

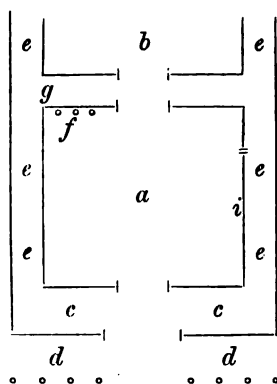
XXIV. 190 :

For *κατθέμενον* read *κατθέμενοι*.

Again, 386 to the end is quite unworthy of the poet of the *Odyssey*, and is full of un-Homeric expressions, like *δείπνῳ ἐπεχείρειον* 386, *τίς νύ μοι ἡμέρη ἦδε, θεοὶ φίλοι* 514, and (worst of all) *θεῶς ὅπα φωνησάσης* 535, where *ὅπα* must be governed by *φωνησάσης*. The interpolator doubtless remembered (and misunderstood) B. 182, *ξυνέηκε θεῶς ὅπα φωνησάσης*, where *ὅπα* is governed by *ξυνέηκε*.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

(ῥῶγες) in the wall which gave light to the κλίμαξ which led to the ὑπερώιον.



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eee. λαύρη. *f.* ῥῶγες μεγάροιο. *g.* κλίμαξ leading to ὑπερώιον and θάλαμος.
h. ὁρσοθύρη with two approaches, one from μέγαρον, the other from λαύρη.
i. ἐφορμή.

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R. Y. TYRRELL.

ATTACHMENT AGST SIR JAMES CARROLL,
1ST MARCH, 1631.

1 CAROLUS dei grā Angl Scotie ffranc Hibnie Rex fidei
defensor &c Diffis nobis Dudleii Boswell Ithiel
2 Walker | Randall Ince Thome Price [*a blank space for
another name*] saltm̃ Quia Jacobus Carroll miles cum
3 per publicas pclamaçõn | per vic^o civitat^o Dublin in
diversis locis ejusdem Com.^o virtute b̃ris ñri eisdem vic^o
4 direct ex pte ñrā p̃ceptum fuerit | quod idem Jacobus
Carroll sub p̃ ligeantie sue coram nobis in Cancellar^o ñrā
5 Hibñie p̃sonaliter compareret mandato | tamen ñrō in ea
pte pariter manifeste contempsit Ideo vobis coniunctim
6 et divisim mandam^o quod p̃fat Jacobu^o | Carroll ubicum-
q̃ fuer^o invent^o infra Regnu^o Hibñie tanqm̃ Rebellem et
7 legis ñre Contemptor^o attachiat^o vel attachi | -ar^o faciat^o
Ita quod eum h̃eatis vel h̃eri faciat^o coram nobis in d̃cā
8 Cancellar^o ñrā Hibñie in Quĩñd̃ Pasche proxim^o | futur^o
ubicumq; tunc fuer^o ad respondend sup̃ hiis que sibi
obiicient^o tunc ibm̃ Et ad faciend ulterius et recipiend
9 qđ | Cur^o ñrā consideraver^o in hac pte Et hoc nullatenus
omittat nec aliquis ṽrm mittat Damus enim universis et
10 singul̃ | vicecomitiz maiorib; Ballivis Constabular' & aliis
officiar^o minister' ligeis & subditis ñris quibuscumq;
11 tam | infra libertates quam extra tenore p̃sentiu^o firmiter
in mandatis quod vobis & cuil̃ ṽrm in execuçõne pre-
12 missor^o | intendentes sint & assistentes in oib; diligent^o
prout decet In cujus rei testimonium has t̃ras ñras fieri
13 fecimus | Patent^o Test^o p̃dilect^o & fidel^o Consanguin^o et
Consiliar' ñris Adamo vicecom Loftus de Ely Cancellar^o

ñr° Regni ñri | Hibñie Vicecom. Corke magno Thesuar° 14
 ñr° regni ñri dūis Justiciar° ñris regni p̄dict° apud Dublin
 primo die Martii | Anno regni ñri Septimo 15

Newman. Longford,
 maḡro Rotulor°.

TRANSLATION.

Charles, by grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our beloved Dudley [Dudleio] Boswell, Ithiel Walker, Randall Ince, Thomas Price [and another], Greeting :

Because Sir James Carroll—when it was made known [præceptum fuerit] on our part, by public proclamations through the streets of the borough of Dublin in divers parts of the same county, by virtue of our summons directed to the same streets, that the said James Carroll, under pain of his allegiance, should appear in person before us in our Chancery of Ireland—nevertheless openly despised our summons in that respect: We therefore command you, jointly and separately, that ye shall attach, or cause to be attached, the aforesaid James Carroll, wherever he shall be found within the Kingdom of Ireland, as a Rebel and contemner of our Law; so that you may bring him [have him], or cause him to be had before us in our Chancery of Ireland on the quindene of Easter next, wherever he shall be, to answer concerning those things [super iis quæ] which are brought against him then and there, and furthermore to do and to receive what our Court shall consider in this matter; and this let not any of you by any means omit or neglect [? mittat], for we have directed all and singular of our viscounts, mayors, bailiffs, constabularies, and other officials, our lieges and subjects whatsoever, both within the liberties and without, in the tenor of these presents that to you and each of you in the execution of the

124 *ATTACHMENT AGST SIR JAMES CARROLL.*

aforesaid they shall be attentive and assist you in all things diligently, as is proper.

In witness of which we have caused to be made these our letters patent: witnesses, our well-beloved and faithful cousins and councillors, Adam Viscount Loftus, of Ely, Chancellor of our Kingdom of Ireland; Viscount Corke, our High Treasurer of our Kingdom; our two Justices of the kingdom aforesaid, at Dublin, the 1st day of March, the seventh year of our reign [1631].

NEWMAN. LONGFORD,

Master of the Rolls.

The abbreviations are all legible, and present no difficulty. The persons addressed at the opening are four Fellows of Trinity College; but no Provost or Vice-Provost is mentioned, nor can they all have been Senior Fellows, as Ince and Walker were elected in 1629. The obvious intention of adding one name, which would make them a majority out of eight, suggests that at the moment they were acting as Senior Fellows. Why they should have been addressed in this attachment is not clear. Possibly there was evidence that Sir James Carroll was secreted in the College.

This document, lying in the muniment room of Trinity College, and not noticed anywhere in print, so far as I know, concerns a prominent citizen of Dublin, who was Mayor of Dublin in 1612, 1617, and 1627, and who was deposed from being Mayor in his fourth term in 1635 by a sentence of the Court of the Castle, which found that he had used his official position to buy coal in the port of Dublin at 8s. per ton, and retail it to the citizens of Dublin at 16s., contrary to the king's provisions for supplying the citizens at a moderate price. The details are given in Gilbert's "Records of the Corporation," iii., pp. 307-8; and, in the

preface to the volume, Gilbert has given a sketch of Carroll's civic history. But he was evidently unaware of the attachment above printed, which comes in date between his third mayoralty and the date of his conviction. According to the document in the Corporation Registry he was Mayor in 1635, and present in Court, and was unable to give any better defence than ignorance of the law. He was fined £1000, and to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure. Not a word is said about his evasion of any previous citation, or his contempt of Court, in 1631. It seems, therefore, likely that, having disappeared from Dublin, and allowed some years to elapse, he came back again, trusting to the forgetfulness of the Crown, or perhaps to private influence ; and it was not till he was actually mayor, in 1635, that he was arraigned and convicted of his crime. I only give this tentative explanation, and hope that some antiquarian versed in the annals of Dublin and the history of its citizens will clear up the chronological difficulty.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

THE IDENTITY OF AJAX.

§ 1. **T**HE familiar name which represents Αἴας in Latin literature offers two difficulties. We have no parallel to such a development of a guttural in a borrowed word. When one folk takes a name from another, any change that the name undergoes is sure to be due to the natural tendency to make it easier to pronounce. Analogy or other external influence may interfere occasionally and produce some exceptions to this general law; for instance, phonetic ease may be sacrificed for the sake of a *Volksetymologie*. But in the case of *Ajax* no special motive has been discovered to account for the seeming perversity of the Latin tongue in loading *Aias* with an alien guttural.

§ 2.—In the second place, the name of the hero, for those peoples among whom his worship flourished¹, was not Αἴας but ΑἴϜας²; and this remark applies to the Locrian as well as to the Salaminian Aias. There seems no likelihood in the conjecture that the name of the Locrian warrior was originally Αἴας without the spirant, and that it was only through the loss of that sound in Ionic that he became a namesake of the Salaminian³. If the form ΑΙΑΣ

¹ The Aeginetans, Megarians, and Salaminians; the cult was introduced into Attica after the conquest of Salamis.

² Cp. Ahrens, *Dial. Dor.*, 43; Boeckh, *C. I. G.*, vol. iv. p. 102, No. 7377.

³ Observe the fact that the Locrian is designated *Aivas Vilatas* (Ἀἰῖδῶτας) on an Etruscan wall-painting (in the Necropolis of Vulci, *Mon. dell' Inst.*, vi. pl. 31).

appears on fourth-century Locrian coins¹, this is no evidence for popular speech in Locris, but is only an example of the influence of the Homeric epos on mints.

Since, then, the name was Αἴϝας, it should have passed into Latin as **Aeuas*—or, assuming the possibility of the intrusion of a guttural, which I dispute, **Aeuax*. It cannot be supposed that the name was first adopted by a poet (e.g., Livius Andronicus) directly from Homer, for in that case the corruption of -as to -ax would be simply inconceivable. Those Greek names, for whose adoption literature is responsible, always appear exactly transliterated. The probability is that Aias first became a familiar name in Latium, either through contact with Greeks by whom he was worshipped, or by seeing imported pottery on which he was represented. In the former case it is certain that he would have been known as *Aeuas*. In the latter case it would be possible to assume that the name first obtained currency in the fifth century or later, and that it was taken from Attic vases, on which it appeared without the digamma. But it will be admitted that we should rather expect to find the hero appearing as *Aeuas* on Latin ground, just as he appeared as *Aivas*, *Eivas*, *Evas* in Etruria².

§ 3.—Of these difficulties the first seems to be insuperable. The second, if it stood alone, would not suffice to cast doubt on the identity of *Aiax* with Αἴας; for we can make a reasonable supposition to account for the absence of the spirant. But, taken in conjunction with the first difficulty, the absence of the spirant, which we should certainly expect to find preserved, reinforces and corroborates it.

These considerations have led me to entertain the belief

¹ Of Opus: Head, *Hist. Num.*, 285. *dell' Inst.*, ix. pl. 15, 2; Corssen,

² Fabretti, *Primo Supplemento to Ueber die Sprache der Etrusker*, 1., *Corp. Inscr. Ital.*, 462 and 408; *Mon.* 824.

that the original *Aiax* was not Αἶας, but a wholly different hero. *Aiax* corresponds closely to Αἰακός; the inflexional difference can easily be explained either as the result of a syncopation on Italian ground, or by assuming a collateral Greek form *Αἶαξ (cp. πάλλαξ: παλλακός,—φύλαξ: φυλακός and φύλακος,—ἄναξ: ἀνακός); while the lengthening of the -ac- was almost inevitable through the analogy of other dissyllabic words in -ax. We may, in fact, say that *linguistically Aiax represents Αἰακός, and does not represent Αἶφας*.

§ 4.—Now it is possible to explain how the worship of Aeacus could have come to Campania. Although in historical times there seems to be no record of the cult of Aeacus elsewhere than in Aegina, we know that he was a Thessalian god or hero, and we know that he was in Thessaly before he was in Aegina. Apart from the statement of Servius¹ that he was made king of Thessaly by Zeus, apart from the tradition, preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium, that he was the founder of Dia, the Homeric Πηλεὺς Αἰακίδης and Ἀχιλλεὺς Αἰακίδης demonstrate that Aeacus belonged where Peleus and Achilles belonged, to Thessaly and especially to Phthia. Homer knows nothing of a connexion of Aeacus or the Aeacids with Aegina; these heroes migrated to the island from Phthia along with the Myrmidons. If, therefore, we can point to any connexion between Thessaly and Campania, we have a line by which the hero Aeacus might have travelled in early times to appear on the horizon of the Latins.

At Neapolis we find in the names of two phratries² distinct evidence of settlers of Thessalian origin. The phratry of the Eumelidae points to Pherae—the city of Eumelus, famous for his mares.³ The phratry of the Aristaioi points

¹ *Aen.* iv. 402.

² *Il.*, ii. 714; xxiii. 288; *Od.*, iv.

³ Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Graec. Sic. et* 748.
It., 191.

ultimately to Phthia : it was from Phthia that the worship of Aristaeus went forth to Ceos, to Carystus, to Arcadia, and to Cyrene¹. The Thessalian element in Euboea is, indeed, so well attested that, even without such special indications, it would not strike us as strange to find a Thessalian hero worshipped in an Euboean colony.

§ 5.—The transformation of Ajax from the character of Aeacus to that of Aias presents little difficulty. One can readily conceive that the Roman translators of the Greek epic and adapters of Greek tragedy, having seldom to speak of Aeacus but frequently of Aias, would be glad to seize the name *Aiāx*, familiar in Latium, and apply it to Aias, from whose name it differed so little in sound that no one, so far as I know, has ever thought of questioning the identity. These old translators had the instinct to use names, which had already won acknowledged citizenship in the Latin language, whenever they could find them. It is, moreover, highly probable that the original equivalence of Ajax to Aeacus would have become faint or fallen wholly into oblivion; for in Greek myth Aeacus is the most colourless of heroes. And so a hero like Ajax, without any marked characteristics or associations of his own to forbid the identity, was a ready-made equivalent to the hands of a translator seeking to Latinize Aias. The post-Homeric adoption of the Telamonian Aias into the Aeacid family might have seemed to confirm the identification, supposing a Roman translator to have felt any misgivings as to the guttural in Ajax. But no such misgivings were likely to occur. When men knew Ulixes (Ὀλυξεύς) and Pollux² to be the same as Odysseus and Polydeukes, they

¹ Cp. Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 5, 6, with Scholiast's quotation from the Hesiodic Eoiae = frag. 143; scholl. on *Apollonius Rhod.*, ii. 498 and 516; Pridik, *De Cei insulae rebus*, 19-20;

Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*², i. 298, 393.

² Πολυδεύκης: *Pollūces* (Praenestine, *Poloces*, C. I. L., i. 55), syncope probably owing to the early accent,

could have little hesitation in equating Ajax with Aias, unless Ajax were already imperatively engaged for some other rôle. But Ajax (*Αἶακός*) had no distinctive personality of his own, and was, therefore, at the disposal of a poet who wished to transform him into *Aĩaç*.

J. B. BURY.

Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, 179; *Polluces*: *Pollux*, "probably by analogy of *lux*, gen. *lucis*," ib. 182. In the

Etruscan language, which always syn-copated in such cases in loan-words, the name appears as *Poltuce*.

THE THORICIAN STONE.

SOPHOCLES, *Œdipus Coloneus*, 1595 :—

ἀφ' οὗ μέσος στὰς τοῦ τε Θορικίου πέτρου
κοιλῆς ἀχέρδον ἀπὸ λαΐνου τάφου
καθέζετ'.

Schneidewin was presumably right in identifying the stone of 1595 with the stone mentioned in an oracle quoted in a scholion on 57 :—

Βοιωτοὶ δ' ἱπποιο ποτισταίχουσι Κολωνόν
ἐνθα λίθος τρικάρανος ἔχει καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,

but *τρικορύφον*, which he proposes as a correction for *Θορικίου*, has no diplomatic probability. Yet he is on the right track. A word is wanted expressing the physical feature signified by *τρικάρανος*, and capable of being corrupted into *Θορικίου*. I therefore propose—

τοῦ τε Θρινακίου πέτρου,

“the Thrinacian Stone.”¹ There is nothing improbable in the supposition that the three marked projections of the *λίθος τρικάρανος* suggested a likeness to *Θρινακίη*, the three-pronged island of the *Odyssey*, which was commonly identified with Sicily. The truth, probably, is that *Θρινακίη* originally designated the Peloponnesus, and was afterwards, partly through an etymological confusion (*ἔδει μὲν Τρινακρίαν λέγεσθαι*, *Schol. B ad Od. xi. 107*), associated with Sicily, which has no resemblance to a *θρῖναξ*. Many an Athenian, unversed in geography, may have fancied that the distant island of the west was really shaped like a trident. In any case, “Thrinacian” would have been a suitable name for the *λίθος τρικάρανος*.

J. B. BURY.

¹ For the anapaest in the 5th foot, cp. *Œd. Col. i.*, &c.

(I.) A NEW THEORY OF THE EKKYKLEMA ;

AND

(II.) TWO SHORT NOTES.

I.—THE EKKYKLEMA.

THE ekkyklema was the mechanical contrivance by means of which, on the Attic stage, the spectators were enabled to see, or rather, were supposed to see, by a stage convention, the interior of one of the houses, or temples, whose fronts usually formed the scene at the back of the stage. Recent excavations have made it quite clear that it would have been impossible for the back-scene to have been drawn aside, in order to reveal what lay behind it, because the Greek theatres, at least in the Classical period, were so constructed that by far the greater number of the spectators were unable to see anything lying further back from the edge of the stage than the *σκηνὴ* itself. The generally received theory of the nature of the ekkyklema is that it was a sort of low movable platform mounted on wheels, which was pushed out of one or other of the three doors opening on to the stage. Mr. Haigh, in his *Attic Theatre*, describes it as follows:—"It was a small wooden platform, rolling upon wheels, and was kept inside the stage building. When it was required to be used, one of the doors in the background was thrown open, and it was rolled forward on to the stage." The description in the *Dictionary of Antiquities* is much the same: "A movable chamber corresponding to the size of any of the three doors was devised, which was wheeled out, or pushed out." To the same effect, though in language not free from

hesitation, Alb. Müller (*Griechische Bühnenaltertümer*, S. 143) remarks :—" (Es ist) anzunehmen, dass die fraglichen Leichen oder Gruppen auf einer kleinen Bühne aus der Thür des Hauses auf das Logeion gerollt wurden." Further on, however, on p. 147, he admits that :—" Die Construction des Ekkyklema, sowie der Mechanismus, durch welchen dasselbe in Bewegung gesetzt wurde, sind unbekannt." M. Salomon Reinach also assumes that it was a platform issuing through one or other of the doors, but, like A. Müller, adds :—" La manière dont l'ἐκκύκλημα sortait d'une porte et évoluait, pour présenter au public les personnages qui y avaient pris place, est absolument une énigme pour nous."¹ Thus it appears that all the standard authorities are agreed that the ekkyklema was a wheeled platform pushed out of one of the doors of the back-scene. I venture to doubt if that assumption is correct.

It is generally admitted that serious difficulties are encountered when it is attempted to explain the action of certain existing Greek dramas by reference to such a machine. Perhaps the greatest of these difficulties occurs in the case of the *Eumenides*. At v. 64 we must suppose the whole of the chorus, together with Orestes—sixteen, or possibly only thirteen, persons in all; the chorus seated on chairs, Orestes holding a sword and an olive-branch, and embracing the Omphalos—to have made their entrance on a platform narrow enough to be pushed through one of the doorways, and with a maximum length, owing to the narrowness of the early Greek stage, of about eight feet. On that occasion the ekkyklema must have been, one would suppose, an exceptionally congested district. The platform, moreover, must, as A. Müller points out, have been wheeled so far forward as to allow Apollo and Hermes to enter behind it by the same door. The

¹ MM. Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, vol. iii., p. 528.

difficulties are here so great that refuge from them has been sought in all sorts of suppositions, many of them impossible, all of them unwarranted by the ancient evidence. For example, K. O. Müller¹ declared, against the express statement of the scholiast that the ekkyklema was used, that, on this occasion, a curtain was raised, or drawn aside, displaying the interior of the temple; for no other reason, apparently, than that he found it impossible to reconcile his idea of the ekkyklema with the use to which it was there put by Aeschylus. Similar, though less aggravated, difficulties occur in the *Herakles Mainomenos*, the *Aias*, the *Acharnians*, and elsewhere.

But not only is the received account of the ekkyklema unsatisfactory when applied to the elucidation of the action of certain Greek plays: it seems to be also plainly at variance with the language of such descriptions of it as have come down to us. Leaving aside for the present the longest of those descriptions (Pollux, iv. 128), I take the scholiast on Aristoph. *Acharn.* 408 (quoted by Mr. Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, p. 185, together with all the other descriptions of this machine):—

ἐκκύκλημα δὲ λέγεται μηχανήμα ξύλινον τροχοῦς ἔχον, ὅπερ περιστρεφόμενον τὰ δοκοῦντα ἔνδον ὡς ἐν οἰκίᾳ] πράττεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἔξω εἰδείκνυε, λέγω δὴ τοῖς θεαταῖς.

In this passage what is the exact meaning of *περιστρεφόμενον*? It clearly describes the action which brought the machine on to the stage: is it a possible word to describe the pushing of a low platform on wheels or castors through a doorway? The proper meaning of *περιστρέφειν*, of course, is ‘to turn round,’ ‘make to revolve,’ and it implies motion about an axis or pivot. When in *Il.* xix. 131, Zeus is represented as throwing Ate down from Olympus, after first whirling her around his head,

¹ *Eumenides*, p. 103 of Eng. trans.

περιστρέψας is the word used. *περιστρέψαι ἵππον* is used by Plutarch (Marcell. 6) for the wheeling of a horse, where the rider's body is the pivot, as it were. Again in Plato, *Cratylus*, 411 B:—ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυκνὰ περιστρέφεισθαι ζητοῦντες ὅπῃ ἔχει τὰ ὄντα ἀεὶ ἰλιγγιῶσιν. Here *περιστρέφεισθαι* must be a motion causing ἰλιγγιᾶν, that is, a top-like, or waltzing motion. A similar expression is used by Schol. on Aesch. *Eum.* 64, στραφέντα γὰρ μηχανήματα ἔνδηλα ποιεῖ, κ.τ.λ.; and again by Schol. on Aristoph. *Nub.* 184, στραφέντος τοῦ ἐγκυκλήματος. The correct word to describe the revolution of the heavenly bodies is *στρέφεισθαι*, and it is actually so used by Plato, *Tim.* 40 B, ὅς' ἀπλανῇ τῶν ἀστρων ζῶα θεῖα ὄντα καὶ αἰδία καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐν ταύτῃ στρεφόμενα ἀεὶ μένει.

In these three descriptions of the ἐκκύκλημα by scholiasts, the writers seem to have had in mind a *revolving* motion, as that which brought the machine on to the stage.

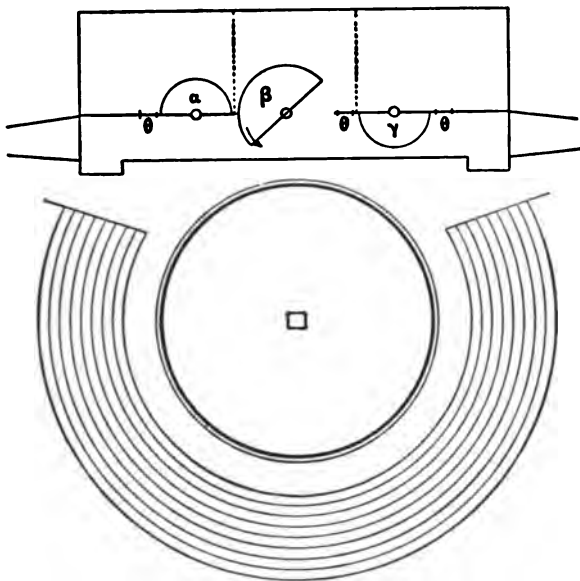
Furthermore, the scholiast on Aesch. *Choeph.* 973 says: ἀνοίγεται ἡ σκηνή, καὶ ἐπὶ ἐγκυκλήματος ὁράται τὰ σώματα. Could he have used the words ἀνοίγεται ἡ σκηνή, if he had meant that a *door* was opened, and that the ekkyklema was pushed through it? Again, in two passages, Eustath. on *Il.* 976, and Schol. on Aristoph. *Nub.* 184, the machine is called the ἐγκύκλημα, a variation from its usual name, which is not, perhaps, without significance. In the name ἐκκύκλημα it seems to be the *result* of the working of the machine which is thought of: in the name ἐγκύκλημα, the *manner* of its operation. ἐγκυκλῆμαι is used of rotatory movement, and ἐγκύκλιος φορά is used by Plutarch, ii. 1024 D, in the sense of 'circular motion'; and thus this accidentally preserved variation of the ordinary name, slight as it is, seems to point in the same direction as the professed descriptions.

From those descriptions and references we are, it would seem, perfectly safe in inferring that the ekkyklema must have moved about a pivot. The use of *περιστρέφεισθαι* and *στρέφεισθαι*, as descriptive of its action, clearly indicates it.

Exactly what the ekkyklema was it would be rash, perhaps, to say dogmatically; but it is at least possible to lay down certain conditions which it must have fulfilled, and to consider what sort of a machine would have complied with them. Firstly, then, it must have revolved about a pivot, and have been, in consequence, to that extent stationary; secondly, it must have been capable of carrying actors from behind the scenes on to the stage—a condition established not only by the construction of the theatre, but by such passages as Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 95, 96, in which Agathon is represented as *coming out* (ἐξέρχεται) on the machine (ἐκκυκλούμενος); thirdly, it must have been capable of carrying at least thirteen persons, together with certain accessories, such as chairs, an altar, a couch, wooden imitations of columns, &c.; and lastly, it cannot have been ugly, or ludicrous. Those conditions are not satisfied by the ekkyklema of the manuals of archæology. I venture to describe a machine which would have satisfied them, not claiming to say exactly what the ekkyklema was, only what it might have been.

The pivot about which the thing moved was perpendicular, and lay in the σκηνή, or back-wall (wholly or partly of wood in the Classical period). A portion of the back-scene to the right and left of the pivot was free to revolve about the pivot, in such a manner that, when it had described a semicircle, the surface previously presented to the eyes of those who were behind the scenes was now presented to the eyes of the spectators in the theatre. To the inner surface of the revolving portion of the σκηνή was fixed, at a height of two or three inches from the ground (from the level of the stage, that is), a semicircular platform (βάθρον), partly supported by the σκηνή to which it was attached, partly supported by low wheels, or castors (τροχοὺς ἔχον). The diameter of the platform was equal to the breadth of the revolving portion of the back-scene. The whole was called ἐκκύκλημα, or

ἐγκύκλημα, the machine whose action is described by scholiasts in such language as ἀνοίγεται ἡ σκηνή, περιστρέφεται τὸ ἐκκύκλημα, στρέφεται τὰ μηχανήματα, and the like.



EXPLANATION.—Diagram representing the stage-buildings, orchestra, and first few rows of spectators' seats in early Greek theatre, and illustrating the suggested action of the ekkyklema, on the supposition that there were three of them, one for each door (καθ' ἐκάστην θύραν, οἷον εἰ καθ' ἐκάστην οὐκίαν.—POLLUX, *loc. cit.*).

(α) Ekkyklema not in use. Post siparium.—CICERO, *De. Prov. Cons.*, 6, § 14.

(β) ἀνοίγεται ἡ σκηνή· περιστρέφεται τὸ ἐκκύκλημα.

(γ) Ekkyklema fully out; back-scene closed again. Iam in exostra helluatur.

—CICERO, *loc. cit.*

(θ) Possible positions of doors.

But there remains the well-known passage in Pollux (iv. 28), in which the machine is thus described:—

καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκκύκλημα ἐπὶ ξύλων ὑψηλὸν βάθρον, ᾧ ἐπίκειται θρόνος· δείκνυσι δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ σκηνῇ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀπόρρητα πραχθέντα. καὶ τὸ

ῥημα τοῦ ἔργου καλεῖται ἐκκυκλεῖν. ἐφ' οὗ δὲ εἰσάγεται τὸ ἐκκύκλημα, εἰσκύκλημα ὀνομάζεται. καὶ χρὴ τοῦτο νοεῖσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην θύραν, οἷον καθ' ἑκάστην δίκιαν.

This description, as Mr. Haigh points out, seems certainly and necessarily incorrect on any theory of the machine. Possibly, however, the puzzling epithet *ύψηλόν* may be partly explained. In Pollux' time a theatre usually had an elaborate stone back-scene (with openings for the *ἐκκύκληματα*, if my theory be correct, which openings would be filled with wooden imitations of stone architecture). One or more of the houses represented by the back-scene might well have had its dignity enhanced by the addition of a flight of stone steps, or *perron*, leading up to its door. In that case it would have been necessary, in order to produce the illusion that it was actually an inner chamber that was being wheeled out, to fix the platform of the *ekkyklema* exactly on a level with the top of the flight of steps, and, consequently, at a corresponding height above the stage. A stool, having one or more steps, would be placed on the stage in such a position at the side of the *ekkyklema* as to enable the actors to descend from it or mount on it; or, still better (as better supporting the illusion that the *ekkyklema* was actually an interior), the *perron* itself was probably available. If that was so, Pollux, thinking of the machine with which he was familiar, may well have used the word *ύψηλόν* in describing the *ekkyklema* of Classical times. Some support seems to be lent to this view by the architectural and military senses in which the word *ἐξώστρα* (expressly identified by Pollux with the *ἐκκύκλημα*) was used in his day. As a military term, *ἐξώστρα* seems to have meant a sort of bridge or gangway, which could be thrown out from a siege-tower, in order to enable the besiegers to reach the wall: as an architectural term, it meant a balcony. If these are

derivative senses, they would have been more likely to arise at a time when the *ἐξώστρα* was more or less raised above the level of the stage.

When Pollux says that there was an *ekkyklema καθ' ἐκάστην θύραν οἰοῖναι καθ' ἐκάστην οἰκίαν*, "one for each door, representing each house," he is probably right. In the Thesmophoriazusae, for example, the *ekkyklema* employed in order to bring out the interior of Agathon's house could not afterwards have been employed to bring out the interior of the Thesmophorion. The latter machine was, in all probability, larger than the former—as large, indeed, as the breadth of the stage would allow. Probably the central *ekkyklema* was always the largest, and it is so represented in the diagram.

In this passage *κατὰ* must have the same meaning before *θύραν* as it has before *οἰκίαν*; it must mean 'corresponding to' in both cases. *ἐπικείται* seems to be equivalent to *ἐπιτίθεται*, a consuetudinal present, so that the whole passage may perhaps be rendered: 'The *ekkyklema* is a platform raised upon wooden supports, and upon which a seat is (often) placed. It reveals dreadful deeds done in the houses behind the scenes. The technical term applied to its action is *ἐκκυκλῖν*, or "wheel out." When, however, the *ekkyklema* is being drawn in it is called the *eiskykklema*. This must be understood to take place at each door, that is to say, at each house.' (It seems quite certain that *καθ' ἐκάστην θύραν* could not possibly mean the same as *δι' ἐκάστης θύρας*). So understood, this description does not seem seriously to differ from the others remaining. In considering the whole passage, which seems to be regarded as the *locus classicus* for this machine, it is, perhaps, well to remember that Pollux lived more than 600 years after Aeschylus.

In order to show that a machine such as is here described would have satisfied the conditions which must necessarily

have governed the construction of the ekkyklema, let us consider it in the case of the *Eumenides*. Supposing the chorus of that play to have contained fifteen members, would there have been room for them all on such a platform? The theatre at Epidauros had a stage only 8 ft. deep—rather unusually shallow. It is obvious that on such a stage the greatest possible diameter of the βάθρον would have been 16 ft. Consequently, the revolving portion of the σκηνή must also have been 16 ft. wide. Now, on a semicircular platform measuring 16 ft. by 8 ft., there would easily have been room for fifteen choreutae on θρόνοι, Orestes, and a representation of the ὀμφαλός. Ten could easily have been grouped with their backs to the wall, facing the spectators when the machine was out. Orestes would naturally be in the middle, and there would have been room for several painted wooden imitations of columns, or other architectural features, suggesting the interior of the μαντεῖον. The *tableau* could have been carefully and artistically grouped behind the scene, and could have been ‘wheeled out’ with perfect smoothness and steadiness. There would have been no quaking, no possible collision with doorposts, no jamming.¹ As by magic art, the walls of palace or temple noiselessly parted: in a quite literal sense the interior was presented to the eyes of the spectator. The moment before the parting of the walls must often have been one of impressive expectation. It must have been so in the *Agamemnon*. The whole play had prepared the spectators for an awful

¹ Mr. Haigh seems to give up the *Eumenides* in despair. Referring to the sudden presentation to the eyes of the spectators of the scene in the interior of the temple, he says:—“To suppose, as the scholiast suggests, that this effect was produced by the ekkyklema is hardly possible. The platform would have been far too small to

accommodate a whole tragic chorus, together with three actors. At the same time, though the explanation of the scholiast appears impracticable, it is difficult to suggest any other way in which the scene might have been acted.”—A. E. HAIGH, *Attic Theatre*, 2nd ed., p. 233.

catastrophe: shrieks from the interior had stirred their imaginations: what were they about to behold when the solid walls should part? One can imagine the statuesque group—Klytaimnestra standing over the murdered bodies of Agamemnon and Cassandra—noiselessly and slowly wheeling into sight amidst breathless silence.

Many other passages seem to lend support to this theory, such as ἐκκυκλείται ἐπὶ τὸ ἕξω τὸ Θεσμοφόριον, Schol. Rav. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 276, and ἱερὸν ὠθεῖται, Schol. al. ibid. How, if the received theory be the right one, could it be said that the *temple* was 'wheeled out,' or 'thrust out'? The passage last quoted, by the way, confirms the statements of Pollux (iv. 129) and of Hesychios, that the ekkyklema and the exostra were one and the same thing.

The principle of the pivot would be familiar to the μηχανοποιός: it was used in the περίακτοι.

It may be objected that the back-scene consisted of a solid wall, but it seems quite uncertain what was the state of the stage buildings of the theatre of Dionysos in the fifth century. It is certain, from an inscription (Haigh, *op. cit.*, p. 108), that the theatre was not completed in 330 B.C. Dr. Dörpfeld will not allow that it was finished before the time of Lykurgos (see Haigh, *op. cit.*, p. 137). Even if the back-scene had consisted, in the fifth century, of a high stone wall, it would have been possible to leave openings in it (like a sort of huge French windows) for the ekkyklemata. The painted canvas scenery, said to have been hung before the back-scene, could easily have been divided along the line of the ekkyklema.

The passage in Aristoph. *Ach.*, 408, 409, offers no difficulty. The platform might have been fixed for the occasion some eleven or twelve feet high, and if Euripides had been forced to lower his head as he was wheeled out and in, it would not have mattered in comedy.

It would seem, then, that possibly we have been mistaken about the ekkyklema. ἐκκυκλεῖν undoubtedly means to 'wheel out': we have hitherto understood it of 'wheeling out' in the sense in which a nurse-maid wheels a baby in a perambulator out of a gate: we should rather, perhaps, have understood it of 'wheeling out' in the sense in which a company of infantry are made to wheel to the right or to the left. Everything depends, so far as the descriptions are concerned, on the question whether the terms ἐκκυκλεῖν, στρέφεισθαι, and περιστρέφεισθαι can possibly refer to the motion of the τροχοὶ as the machine came forward. Possibly we may have wronged the Greeks in so long supposing them capable of tolerating a device so utterly destructive of all stage illusion as the machine usually described under the name of ekkyklema or exostra.

Since writing the above, I have read the interesting account given by the dramatic critic of the *Saturday Review* of the reproduction of the *Agamemnon* at Bradfield College last week (June). The Bradfieldians, with delightful and praiseworthy enthusiasm, seem to have reproduced, as closely as possible, the actual conditions of the theatre of Dionysos: the spectators gazed, from stone seats under the open sky, on a green-garlanded θυμέλη, as of old. But it is interesting to observe that the ekkyklema seems to have been too much for them. It was used, it is true, to bring the queen and the bodies of her victims on to the stage; but it was, we are told, wheeled away again, with the dead bodies, at the end of Klytaimnestra's first speech to the elders, and before the delivery of such lines as

οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἔμδος
πόσις, νεκρὸς δέ,
and
τόνδ' ἔσφαξ' ἐγώ,

which verses thereby lost much of their dramatic effect. Can it possibly have been that the Bradfieldian ekky-

klema, evidently constructed in accordance with the description of the machine usually given, was found so ugly and disturbing, that the stage-manager sacrificed much of the dramatic effect of Klytaimnestra's declamation, in order to get rid of the thing from the stage as soon as possible ?

II.—TWO SHORT NOTES.

1. Superest tibi robur et tot per. annos visum fastigii regimen : possumus seniores amici quietem respondere.—Codex Med. Tacit. Ann. xiv. 54, *ad fin.*

It is generally agreed that Tacitus must have written *summi* before *fastigii regimen* : it is disputable whether or not he also wrote *visum*. If he did, it is obvious how *summi* dropped out : if he did not write *visum*, it is obvious how it came in. It can hardly be anything but a disguised form of *summi*, which he *must* have written. If *visum* is the word that one would naturally expect here, or if it gives a good sense, it is probably original : if the contrary, it is probably corrupt. That the latter is the case is proved by the many attempts to change *visum*, from the days of Franciscus Puteolanus onwards.

Is it possible that *visum* may have grown out of *summi* in the following way ?—Assuming the original text to have been as it stands above, with the changes of *summi* for *visum*, and *repscere* (Halm) for *respondere*, some early reader may have given to the sentence this sense :—"Before you there lies your vigorous prime, and the supreme sway of the state for so many years to come : we, friends of yours, who are now growing old, may well claim repose." Reading the sentence in this sense, he might have mused on the promise here given by Seneca to Nero, of rule for many long years.

Asking himself how many years of rule did actually, at that time, lie before Nero, remembering that this event happened in 62, and that Nero died in 68, he might, in moralising or historical mood, have inserted, as an inter-linear or marginal note, the numeral *vi.* after *annos*. The next transcriber, supposing an omission, would write *visum*, combining the numeral with *sumi*.

The question whether a reader might or might not have interpreted the sentence as I have supposed is not quite the same as the question whether he would have been right in so doing. It may be objected that *tot* usually refers to the known, to the past. I can bring forward no parallel; but as the only restriction on the common elliptical use of *tot* would seem to be the possibility of supplying a correlative clause beginning with *quot*, and as such a clause can easily be supplied here (*quot sperare licet*, or the like), the use of *tot* in this sense would seem to be possible. If it be accepted, the two divisions of the sentence are closely antithetical. "You are young (*superest tibi robur*), before you lies the highest activity (*regimen summi fastigii*): I am old (*seniores*), for me is rest (*quietem*).

2. The derivation of *ecce*.

Curtius and Vaniček explain *ecce* as probably the imperative of a verb having the same root as *oculus*. At the same time, its use corresponds so closely with the use of *em* or *en* in comedy, that attempts have been made to connect the two words etymologically.

Professor Sonnenschein, in his edition of the *Rudens* (*Excursus*, p. 189), remarks:—

"Studemund (according to his pupil, Richter) proposed to derive *en* from *ec-n*, *ec* being an old imperative from the root AK, and *n* a demonstrative suffix (cf. *hercle qui-n*, *sī-n*, etc.); if this is true, and *em* = *en*, then *ecce*, *em*, *en* are all related etymologically."

Studemund's way of connecting *em* or *en* etymologically with *ecce* may be the true way; but it is very uncertain. Meanwhile, I venture to suggest another way in which *ecce* may perhaps be etymologically connected with *em* or *en*. I suggest that *ecce* may be directly derived from *em* or *en* by the addition of the suffix *-ce* (demonstrative), just as *illic* (= *ille-ce*) is derived from *ille*.

The placing of the syllable *en* before the indefinite *umquam* converts it into the interrogative *enumquam* (Plaut. *Rud.* 987, 1117; *Trin.* 589; Ter. *Phorm.* 329, 348, etc.). The placing of the syllable *ec-* before the indefinite *quis* converts it into the interrogative *ecquis*. Similarly *ecquando* is the interrogative form of *quando* in its indefinite sense. From these facts, without identifying the *en* of *enumquam* with the exclamatory particle *em* or *en*, it would seem a reasonable inference that the *en-* of *enumquam* and the *ec-* of *ecquis* are one and the same. If so, we have here an instance in which a nasal loses its nasal character, and suffers assimilation to a following guttural surd stop; and the same phenomenon may perhaps be found in *ecce*, namely, *em-ce* (or *en-ce*) = *ecce*—just as, apparently, *en-quis* = *ecquis*. In that case the relation of *ecce* to *em* or *en* would be precisely the same as the relation of *illic* (nom. sing.) to *ille*, and the correspondence both in sense and in syntax between *em* and *ecce* would be explained. Moreover we should not then have to disconnect *em* and the Greek ἔν, as Studemund's derivation would oblige us to do.

CHARLES EXON.

NOTES ON ARISTOTLE, *PARVA NATURALIA*.

437^a, 12. ὁ γὰρ λόγος αἰτιός ἐστι τῆς μαθήσεως ἀκουστός ὢν, οὐ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμβεβηκός.

MANIFESTLY there should be no comma here at ὢν, though Biehl after Bekker prints one. It wrongly implies that ἀκουστός ὢν belongs to what precedes instead of to what follows. The meaning is that λόγος is heard only κατὰ συμβεβηκός, the direct or proper object of hearing being ψόφος or φωνή. Speech, as a vehicle of ideas, is heard only because (as the next lines show) ἐξ ὀνομάτων σύγκειται, τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον σύμβολόν ἐστι. Plato, Theaetetus, 203 B, makes the same point, that the direct object of hearing is the *sound* of words, not their *sense*, as is plain when we are addressed in an unknown tongue.

437^b, 8. καὶ βραδέως μεταβάλλοντος τοῦ ὁμματος οὐ συμβαίνει, ὥστε δοκεῖν ἅμα ἓν καὶ δύο εἶναι τό θ' ὁρῶν καὶ τὸ ὁρώμενον.

Here again a comma is wrongly printed after συμβαίνει by Biehl, not however by Bekker. It breaks the connexion, which is logically as close as possible, between συμβαίνει and the following words. Συμβαίνει ὥστε δοκεῖν is precisely the same in sense as συμβαίνει δοκεῖν. The comma, if pressed, would give a completely false view of the meaning.

437^b, 19-22. εἰ δ' ἄρα ὑπάρχει μὲν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἡρέμα λανθάνει ἡμᾶς, ἔδει μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἀποσβέννυσθαι τὸ φῶς, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάγοις μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι σκότον.

Commentators, from Ideler to Ziaja, contentedly refer μεθ' ἡμέραν to the extinction of the small internal light

within the eye (assumed in the *Timaeus* as the cause of vision) by the great light of the sun, which, according to Aristotle's principles, would be certain to happen as soon as the internal light issued forth into the external world of day. This view involves difficulties both in the general sense and in the grammar. I take the former first.

Aristotle here makes no mention of μάρανσις, but only of σβέσις. The former of these is distinguished by him from the latter in many places. Cf. de Caelo, III. vi. 305^a, 9-13, de Juvent., 469^b, 21-23. ἀλλὰ μὴν πυρός γε δύο ὁρῶμεν φθοράς, μάρανσιν τε καὶ σβέσιν. καλοῦμεν δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ μάρανσιν τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων σβέσιν: and 469^b, 32, διόπερ οὐ μόνον μαραίνεται τὸ ἔλαττον παρὰ τὸ πλεῖον πῦρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτὴν ἢ τοῦ λύχνου φλόξ ἐντιθεμένη πλείονι φλογὶ κατακαίεται. Such was Aristotle's doctrine—valeat quantum valet—of μάρανσις, and to this he everywhere adheres. In the passage before us, however, he speaks only of σβέσις or ἀπόσβεσις: see above^b 14, 23. Under other circumstances, Aristotle might here have referred to μάρανσις—the extinction of the smaller light of the eye by the greater light of day, but he really does nothing of the kind, and for an obvious reason. He is arguing against Plato *ad hominem*, i.e. on Plato's own ground. The theory of the *Timaeus* (as interpreted by Aristotle) is that the 'Augenlicht' mixes with the daylight, being homogeneous with it, but is quenched at night. The doctrine of μάρανσις is Aristotle's own, not Plato's. Aristotle has just before objected to the Platonic (and Empedoclean) 'emission' theory of vision on the ground that, if it were sound, we should see in the dark. He now attacks Plato's explanation of the fact that we do not see in the dark, viz. that the 'Augenlicht' is quenched—κατασβέννυται—in the night-time. But how can *light* be quenched? asks Aristotle. *Fire* can be quenched by τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὸ ὑγρόν, since it

involves their contraries τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν ; hence, *e.g.*, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρακώδεσι πῦρ καὶ ἡ φλόξ are extinguishable by τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν. These (τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν), however, do not appertain to φῶς.¹

Therefore, light is not subject to σβέσις. Should it be argued that τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν do appertain to it, but in a degree imperceptible to us, Aristotle would reply that if they *did*, and if accordingly φῶς *were* extinguishable, it should be so not merely at night, but even in the day time, whenever the agencies which counterwork ordinary fire and flame happen to be present. For example, we should, in the day time, find light extinguished when it fell upon, or into, water, and frosty or cold weather should be particularly dark weather. This not being so, the supposition that the contraries which lead to its extinction appertain to light is false. Hence light cannot be extinguished. Throughout all this, nothing is said, or thought, of μάρανσις.

The grammatical difficulty is—what are we to do with τε? It is not translatable in any even superficially tolerable way, unless we accept the reference to μάρανσις, which has just been proved erroneous. We cannot take it in its usual preparatory or anticipative force, and coordinate it either with the immediately succeeding καὶ, or with that of the following clause. Reference to μάρανσις being given up, to translate 'both in the day-time, and in water,' would be nonsense. What Aristotle aims at is to show that it would be extinguished in water, *even* in the day-time. On the other hand, Eucken has clearly enough proved how untenable are the grounds on which some have based a theory of τε used without conjunctive force—an otiose τε (in τε γάρ, etc.). To take τε here with the καὶ of the following clause would leave the first καὶ without explanation. Therefore it appears to me that τε should be

¹ For the purpose of this note it does not matter whether, with Thuret, ὧν,

¹⁸, is referred to θερμὸν καὶ ξηρὸν, or with others, to τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἡ φλόξ.

corrected to γε here, as in a host of other places, gradually being brought to light in the MSS. of Aristotle as well as of Plato. In μεθ' ἡμέραν γε, the particle lends that weight to the μεθ' ἡμέραν which we should have expected the writer to give it from its importance in the argument—an *a fortiori* argument, of which it expresses the very point. The καὶ immediately after γε would of itself suffice to explain how this became altered into τε.

438^a, 15. ἀλλ' εὐφυλακτότερον καὶ εὐπιλητότερον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἀέρος.

So Bekker and Biehl. Priscian's metaphrasis of the περὶ αἰσθήσεως of Theophrastus (§ 35, Wimmer) has almost the same words in reference to the same point. Διὰ τί οὖν ἐν ὕδατι ἡ κόρη; ἐπειδὴ εὐφυλακτότερον καὶ εὐπιλητότερον ἀέρος ὕδωρ. But εὐπιλητον is not, according to Aristotle, more applicable to water than to air. It is not applicable to water *at all*. He says, *Meteor.* IV. ix. 387^a 15, πιλητὰ δ' ὅσα τῶν πιεστῶν μόνιμον ἔχει τὴν πίεσιν, ἀπίλητα δ' ὅσα ἢ ὅλως ἄπιεστα ἢ μὴ μόνιμον ἔχει τὴν πίεσιν. Water belongs, accordingly, to the class of ἀπίλητα. It did not need the Florentine experiment to show that water is *less*—not *more*—compressible than air. On the other hand, it is much easier to *isolate* or *seclude* a portion of water than a portion of air *in a cup or capsule*. Aristotle therefore thinks that as, for vision, a portion of the διαφανές had to be enclosed within the eye, water is more convenient for nature's purpose than air. The word which exactly denotes the greater convenience of water in this respect is *ἐναποληπτότερον*, which I propose to read here instead of εὐπιλητότερον. This latter rests (as far as I know) on the reading of a single MS. P. Alexander distinctly supports ἐναποληπτότερο.ν His words are—διὰ τὸ εὐφυλακτότερον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ δύνασθαι μᾶλλον σώζεσθαι ἐν ᾧ ἂν ἀποληφθῇ (ὁ γὰρ ἀὴρ ἐυδιάπνευστός τε καὶ δυσἀπόληπτος τῷ διαπνεῖσθαι ῥάδιον [Thurot;? ῥᾶον]) εἴη ἂν ἐξ ὕδατος [sc. ἡ κόρη] καὶ διὰ τὸ

φυλακτικώτερον εἶναι τοῦ τόπου τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ μᾶλλον συνεστάναι (τούτου γὰρ τὸ ἑὺνποληπτότερον ὄνομα φέρεται σημαντικόν). Thurot corrects the word marked corrupt to εὐαποληπτότερον, which has first appearances in its favour. Better, however, is ἐναποληπτότερον = ἀπολαμβάνειν ἐντός, for the thought is not merely of *isolation*, but also of *inclusion within the capsule*. Cf. the ἐν ᾧ ἂν ἀποληφθῇ of Alexander. We therefore require the preposition ἐν. This after εὐφυλακτικώτερον was easily corrupted to εὐ-. 'Εναπολαμβάνειν, very frequent in Aristotle, is a *vox propria* for the isolation of portions of liquid or fluid *and* their inclusion within a solid body, as in a vessel or capsule. The noun ἐναπόληψις, too, was in use. Theophrastus, *De Sens.*, § 62, has τὴν ἐναπόληψιν τῶν κενῶν of the inclusion of *vacua* within bodies otherwise solid. Cf. δεικνύντες ὡς ἰσχυρὸς ὁ αἶρ καὶ ἐναπολαμβάνοντες ἐν ταῖς κλειψύδραις, 213^a, 25 : cf. also 366^b 16, 294^b 27, and many other passages. εὐπλητύτερον does not occur elsewhere, but this is not of any consequence. The real argument against it is its peculiar inappropriateness, together with the special appropriateness of ἐναποληπτότερον as its substitute.

438^a, 27. τούτου μὲν γὰρ βέλτιον τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ συμφύεσθαι οὐτὸ ὄμματος.

It seems clear that we should read <τῇ> ἀρχῇ here. ἀρχῇ could not, as it stands, govern τοῦ ὄμματος: grammar would demand τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ὄμματος. The sense is—'that their union should take place in the original structure, or fabric, of the eye.' The *ordo* is—τὸ συμφύεσθαι ἐν <τῇ> ἀρχῇ τοῦ ὄμματος. The τὸ may have been hastily construed with ἐν instead of with the infinitive. The phrase τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ, is frequent in the logical writings. Cf. *Anal. Pr.* II. xvi. 64^b, 28 : τὸ δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ αἰτεῖσθαι [commit a *petitio principii*] καὶ λαμβάνειν ἔστι μὲν . . . ἐν τῇ μὴ ἀποδεικνύναι τὸ προκείμενον; *Top.* VIII. xiii. 162^b, 31 : τὸ δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ . . . πῶς αἰτεῖται ὁ

ἑρωτῶν κ. τ. ἐ. This may have led to the omission of the τῇ, without which the genitive τοῦ ὀμματος is unexplained.

438^a, 29-31. τό τε γὰρ συμφύεσθαι τί ἐστι φωτὶ πρὸς φῶς ; ἢ πῶς οἷον θ' ὑπάρχειν ; οὐ γὰρ τῇ τυχόντι συμφύεται τὸ τυχόν. τό τ' ἐντὸς τῇ ἐκτὸς πῶς ; κ. τ. ἐ.

Here we seem to have the phenomenon (very rare in prose writers, and especially so in Aristotle) of two successive sentences conjoined and co-ordinated by τε . . . τε. It is more likely that we really have an instance of τε followed by δέ as rather often occurs, the current of the writer's thoughts having been diverted by some parenthetic remark, so that he does not, as he had intended, continue with καί : for example, 1161^a, 18. φύσει τε [γὰρ] ἀρχικὸν πατὴρ υἱῶν καὶ πρόγονοι ἐγγόνων καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλευσμένων· ἐν ὑπεροχῇ δὲ αἱ φίλται αὐται. Instances of this are, as has been said, not infrequent in Aristotle.¹ In ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ, the δὲ regularly corresponds to a preceding τε. But nowhere in the *Physics*, *De Anima*, *Rhetoric*, or *Poetic*, do we find τε . . . τε as in our passage. In the *Ethics* it occurs some six times, chiefly in Bks. VIII.-X., where the style is (for Aristotle) peculiarly elevated. It occurs twice (or thrice) in the *Politics*, once (or twice) in the *Metaphysics*. In the pseudo-Aristotelean writings, also, τε . . . τε joining co-ordinate sentences is exceedingly rare.

443^a, 23-4. διὸ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος οὕτως εἴρηκεν, ὥς εἰ πάντα τὰ ὄντα καπνὸς γίγνεται, ὅτι ῥῖνες ἀν διαγνοῖεν.

If these are the words of Aristotle, not those of the Ephesian philosopher from whom Professor Bywater seems to print them as a quotation, one at once misses the customary article before ῥῖνες. Moreover the ὅτι, in Biehl's text, coming so closely after ὥς, is intolerable. It would

¹ Cf., for the use of this particle in Aristotle, Eucken's masterly tract, 'De Aristotelis dicendi Ratione,' pt. I., de particularum usu, pp. 14-16.

seem as if at one time a copyist had read and written—*εἰ πάντα τὰ ὄντα καπνὸς εἴη, γίγνοιτ' ἄν ὅτι*, κ.τ.έ. This would give a construction, but of a type very unlike the brevity either of Heraclitus or Aristotle. If we should not, *more Aristoteleo*, read αἱ ῥίνες, we should, with so many MSS. and Alexander, omit the ὅτι. This is not a long sentence of which the writer might forget the beginning before he reached the end. There is no confusion of construction owing to the complex, or contorted, character of the thought. In fact, there is no excuse whatever, as there seems to be no parallel, for the ὥς . . . ὅτι which Biehl edits.

445^b, 4. τὰ παθήματα τὰ αἰσθητά, οἷον χρῶμα καὶ χυμὸς καὶ ὁσμή καὶ ψόφος καὶ βάρος καὶ ψυχρὸν καὶ θερμὸν καὶ κοῦφον καὶ σκληρὸν καὶ μαλακόν ;

The position of βάρος, in the order of things enumerated here, renders it suspicious ; and besides we want the adjective βαρύ in the next line, to make a pair with κοῦφον, like the other pairs ψυχρὸν . . . θερμὸν, σκληρὸν . . . μαλακόν. I would omit καὶ βάρος from its place, and would insert καὶ βαρύ after κοῦφον : this would represent the αἰσθητὰ of ἡ ἀφή (in several pairs of ἐναντία) naturally, as following those of the other αἰσθήσεις. Biehl seems to have intended to get rid (and to have indeed partly got rid) of the incongruity of βάρος by placing it after ψόφος, instead of before it, with EMYSU as well as other authorities. But it is easy to believe that it owes its origin to a mere mistake connected with the displacement of καὶ βαρύ.

446^a, 10-13. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐδ' ἡ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὑπεροχὴ καθ' αὐτὴν αἰσθητὴ οὐδὲ χωριστὴ (δυνάμει γὰρ ἐννάρχει ἐν τῇ ἀκριβεστέρα ἡ ὑπεροχὴ), οὐδὲ τὸ τηλικούτον αἰσθητὸν χωριστὸν ἔσται¹ ἐνεργείᾳ αἰσθάνεσθαι.

Should not αἰσθητὴ here be αἰσθητικὴ ? The subject of the chapter is the infinite divisibility of the sensible *qualities* of

¹ ἔσται is, in Arist., *regular* for ἄν εἴη in certain sorts of conditional argument.

things *pari passu* with that of the *things* themselves. If a thing can be divided and subdivided *ad infinitum*, its colour, etc., must be divided and subdivided with it: and if the *παθήματα αἰσθητά* of things are so divisible, our *αἴσθησις*, which corresponds (for the *αἴσθησις* always keeps pace with the *αἰσθητόν*), must also be divisible in the same modes and degrees. Why, then, can we not perceive the very small divisions, if *they* have sensible qualities (*παθήματα αἰσθητά*), and *we* have faculties of sentiency (*αἰσθήσεις*) on the same scale? The answer ultimately found is that the qualities in the subdivision beyond a certain point are not *actually* perceptible when taken independently (*χωριστά*), but only *potentially* perceptible. Even to *exist* actually, as well as to be actually perceived, they must belong to larger bulks, from which they may not be disjoined without the danger of utter dissolution. So, too, with the small increments (*ὑπεροχαί*) of *αἴσθησις*. These, when taken separately, or *per se*, cannot *perceive*, just as the small subdivisions of the *αἰσθητά* cannot *be perceived*. They can discharge their sentient function for consciousness only in, or as part of, larger wholes of *αἴσθησις*—*ἐν τῇ ἀκριβεστέρᾳ [αἰσθήσει]*. If the word *αἰσθητή* above be translated passively, as its form and customary usage warrant, the argument of the passage, and the parallelism of the clauses, are lost. To obtain the needful sense we should render it actively. If we cannot do this, we must read *αἰσθητική*. The argument is:—"Since, however, the infinitesimally small increment of sentiency [*ἡ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὑπεροχή*] is on its part not capable of actually perceiving, when existing by itself, or independently (such increment having only a potential existence as part of a clearer whole); so one cannot actually perceive the small corresponding *object* of such increment, if taken *per se*, and not *in* a larger *objective* whole." The first *οὐδέ* (after *ἐπειδή*) might less idiomatically have been *οὐχ*. It may be called a case of the *οὐδέ* of anticipation, foreshadowing the *οὐδέ* of an

apodosis to follow. It corresponds to the anticipative *καί* of affirmatives. Cf. 438^b 6: *ὁρᾶται δ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἔξω . . . οὕτω καὶ ἐντὸς*, which cast in the negative mould would run:—*ὁρᾶται δ' ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔξω . . . οὕτως οὐδ' ἐντὸς*. The other *οὐδέ* here (that before *χωριστή*, 11) is in a subordinate position, merely correlating *καθ' αὐτήν* disjunctively with *χωριστή*. Such being the sense and construction, the evident reference to the division of *αἴσθησις* itself (as distinct from the *αἰσθητόν*), already spoken of in 445^b, 8, as necessary, and also the balance of the clauses, both together require the active word *αἰσθητική*. Alexander (pp. 248-9, Thurot) gives the following comment:—*ἡ τὸ λεγόμενον τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ὥς γὰρ ἡ ἀκριβεστέρα αἴσθησις ὑπερέχει τιμὴν δυνάμει αἰσθητικῇ τῆς ἥττον ἀκριβοῦς . . . οὐ μὲν καθ' αὐτήν ἡ ὑπεροχὴ αὐτῇ γενομένη αἴσθησίς ἐστιν· τὸ γὰρ αἰσθητὴ [the word αἰσθητή] εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ* (where Thurot should have corrected to *αἰσθητικῇ*: some copyist, by a slip, made the adjective agree with *τοῦ*). Here Alexander hits upon the right interpretation, from which (though he does not suggest it) the reading *αἰσθητική* naturally follows.

446^a, 15, 16. *ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔνια μεγέθη καὶ πάθη λαμβάνει, καὶ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν, καὶ πῶς αἰσθητὰ καὶ πῶς οὐ, εἴρηται.*

These words would naturally close the discussion up to its present stage. A new part of the subject is broached just below. They are made to come in wrongly where they stand, and should be transferred to follow *φθόγγους* in ^a20.

447^a, 13. *πότερον ἐνδέχεται δυνεῖν ἅμα δύνασθαι αἰσθάνεσθαι κ. τ. λ.*

So Biehl. But this use of *ἐνδέχεται* *with* *δύνασθαι*, and a third infinitive, is, I believe, without example in Aristotle, or any classical writer. True *ἐνδέχεται* differs from *δύνασθαι*, as the logically from the dynamically possible; but this does not defend the construction. *δύνασθαι* must be ejected

with most codices. Everywhere else throughout this chapter ἐνδέχεται appears in the same sense and connexion; and the question at issue is treated consistently by Aristotle from the point of view rather of what is *conceivably*, than of what is *physically*, possible. The solution, too, of the difficulties discussed, is finally given by adjusting our *conceptions* of identity: distinguishing the identical τῷ λόγῳ from the identical τῷ ἀριθμῷ.

448^a, 13-19. εἰ οὖν . . . ἐκεῖνα.

Logically, all this should come immediately after μικρόν, 448^a, 1, and should be transferred to that place. As the text stands, the argument is broken up by the interjection of a discussion, perfectly lucid and satisfactory in itself, but perfectly irrelevant to the subject of τὰ σύστοιχα. That the latter may run to its close without absurd interruption—I mean interruption which there is nothing in the text or the subject-matter to explain or excuse—the above suggested transposition is absolutely required.

452^a, 26. εἰάν οὖν δι' ἃ πάλαι οὐ κινήθη, ἐπὶ τὸ συνηθέστερον κινεῖται.

This reading of Biehl's is distinctly inferior, both in evidence and in meaning, to that of Bekker—διὰ παλαιοῦ κινήται. What Aristotle intends is that, "if this κίνησις travels along an *old* path, it brings one's thoughts to the *more habitual* (not to the *wished-for*) representation." Old memories (habitual φαντάσματα) keep coming up, when perhaps we want to remember something recent. For, according to Aristotle, we may *start* a train of thought, but cannot always determine its *direction*. Cf. Prof. William James, *Psychology*, vol. I. 577. "*Habit, recency, vividness, and emotional congruity*, are all reasons why one

representation, rather than another, should be awakened by the interesting portion of a departing thought." In this brief sentence, Prof. James sums up (doubtless without having intended it) most of what the author of the *De Memoria* aims at saying here. The merit of condensed expression is not often so clearly on the side of a modern writer when compared with Aristotle.

JOHN I. BEARE.

DR. BLAYDES'S EDITION OF THE
AGAMEMNON.¹

THE latest edition of the masterpiece of Aeschylus is worthy of the hand of the scholar who, on evil days though fallen, and evil tongues, has, through a long and laborious life, been unswervingly faithful to the best traditions of the English school of "pure scholarship." Of all living scholars, Dr. Blaydes is probably the truest representative of the School of Bentley, Heath, Elmsley, and Porson. He is the equal of these great scholars in his mastery of Greek idiom, in his grasp of the spirit and style of his author, and in the immense stores of erudition which he can bring to bear upon the difficulties of a disputed passage. In the latter respect, his editions are not likely to be superseded, for, as Mr. Headlam says ("On editing Aeschylus," p. 2), "facts are never out of date."

As an editor, Dr. Blaydes has many merits. He is a thorough-going sceptic, and rarely subscribes to accepted views simply because they are accepted. He has, furthermore, the merit—rarest in an editor of Aeschylus—of being able to distinguish between poetry and nonsense. His wide knowledge of Greek literature renders his notes invaluable as a storehouse of tragic idiom. But, as a critic, his methods and principles have found but little favour among two generations of scholars, on account of his avowed contempt for the authority of the MSS. In dealing

¹ *Aeschyli Agamemnon. Cum Annotatione Critica et Commentario*, edidit Fredericus H. M. Blaydes, M.A., Oxon.

Halis Saxonum, in Orphanotrophei libraria. MDCCCXCVIII.

with the text of Sophocles and Aristophanes, whose MSS. are in the main free from deep-seated corruptions, there is little doubt that Dr. Blaydes has violated the principles of scientific criticism in employing conjecture to an extravagant extent, but the case of Aeschylus is very different. *Pace* Mr. Verrall, I agree with our editor that the codices of the *Agamemnon* present us with a text which, in the choral odes at least, seems, like Time, the more unintelligible the more we consider it, and that the only hope of restoring the hand of the poet is, by indulging the ingenuity of scholars, to endeavour to remove the "*corruptelas et plurimas et inveteratas*" which disfigure the MSS. In grappling with this problem Dr. Blaydes's cardinal principle is "by diligent comparison of parallel passages, and by constant study of the style of Aeschylus, to grasp his spirit, and so restore his hand." This is the "*sola tuta via*," and, so far as our editor is true to this principle, his work is valuable, but his method is vitiated by a contempt for what he calls "*servilis literarum ductus observantia*." No one can reasonably object to Dr. Blaydes preferring to this "*servile method*" a "*diligens sententiae consideratio*"; for no emendation, no matter how plausible it may be palæographically, can be tolerated if inconsistent with the context; yet, on the other hand, few emendations have found acceptance which depart widely from the MSS. tradition, unless the "*causa corruptelae*" is obvious. Dr. Blaydes's contempt for the *ductus* is fatal. It is this failing that has excited prejudice against him almost universally amongst scholars, and has obscured the meritorious character of a great portion of the excellent work he has done. It rarely occurs to him to explain the origin of an error. He is satisfied that the text is faulty, and he generally supplies what he calls "*dimidium medelae*," by pointing out the blot; but, in spite of my admiration for Dr. Blaydes's erudition and devotion to literature, and for

the unrivalled stores of illustration with which he defends his suggestions, I must confess that, through his disregard for scientific method, very few of his corrections will appear in future texts of the *Agamemnon*.

In support of what I say, I will adduce the chief alterations he has made in the text, in constituting which he professes that he has been cautious, admitting only 'certain' or 'probable conjectures.'

51-4 :

οἷτ' ἐκπατίοις ἄλγεσι παίδων
 ὕπατοι λεχέων στροφοδινοῦνται

 πόνον ὀρταλίων ὀλέσαντες.

52. Blaydes omits all reference to Professor Housman's most ingenious suggestion παίδων ἀπάρη λεχαίων (cp. Soph., *Ant.* 630, ἀπάτας λεχέων ὑπεραλγᾶν), which would be almost convincing were it not that the two datives are somewhat awkward.

Blaydes's own reading ὑπὲρ ὧν λεχέων emphasizes too strongly the sense of proprietorship, 'above *their* own nests.'

54. πόνον ὀρταλίων, MSS. Blaydes destroys the pathos of the line by reading γόνον (cp. Spenser, 'right sorrowfully mourning her bereaved cares.') It may be noted that in Soph., *Fr.*, 725, ἐπιμαστίδιον γόνον ὀρταλίων, which Blaydes adduces in support of his alteration, Ellis reads πόνον. The two words are perpetually confounded.

55 :

ὑπατος δ' αἰών ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων.

Blaydes reads in text ἢ τοῖ, an ugly shortening, which removes an idiomatic use of τις (= 'perchance.')

78 :

Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ χώρῃ,

Blaydes reads γήρῃ as a "certissima emendatio."

93 :

λαμπὰς ἀνίσχει.

Blaydes gives ἀνίσσει, although in his note he defends the text, quoting ἐξέχειν, εἰσέχειν, ἀνέχειν.

118-9 :

βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν ἐρικύματα φέρματι γένναν.

Blaydes reads in text λαγίνας ἐρικύμονα φέρματα γέννας, which supplies a neuter subject for βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων, although it must be confessed it is a strange expression for 'Ieporem prole prae gravidam.' W. Headlam's λαγίναν ἐρικυματοφέρμονα γένναν seems to me more probable.

131 :

οἶον μή τις ἄγα θεόθεν κνεφάση κ.τ.λ.

Blaydes cuts the knot by reading μοῦνον. The latter might be a gloss on οἶον, but not *vice versa*.

179 :

στάζει δ' ἐν θ' ὕπνῳ πρὸ καρδίας
μνησιπήμων πόνος.

Blaydes gives in his text ἵζει δ' ἀνθ' ὕπνου κ.τ.λ., which is no improvement on Emper's happy conjecture στάζει δ' ἀνθ' ὕπνου.

194 :

βροτῶν ἄλαι.

Blaydes reads βλάβαι, which is excellent in itself, though unnecessary. He has failed to notice that ἄλαι means 'grindings,' from ἀλεῖν 'to grind' (cp. Professor Housman, *Journal of Phil.*, xvi., p. 290).

251 :

ἐπιγένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις προχαιρέτω.

I quite agree with the Editor that this passage is desperately corrupt, but who will vouch for the probability of the reading ἔστ' ἂν γένηται πάροιθε χαιρέτω?

322-3 :

ὄξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἐκχέας ταύτῃ κύτει
 διχοστατοῦντ' ἂν οὐ φίλως προσεννέποις.

322. Blaydes reads εἰ ᾿γχίαις (with Maehly) ταῦτ' ἐς κύτος. This suggestion, which is doubtful metrically, removes a most characteristic *nominaf. pend.*

323. Maehly's πρὸς ἐν ῥίοι, although impossible on account of the misuse of πρὸς for εἰς, may strike one as an ingenious alteration of προσεννέποις, which is strangely used, but the suggestion lacks all probability if εἰς is substituted, as by Blaydes in his text.

329 :

ἐξ ἐλευθέρου
 δέρης ἀποιμώζουσι φιλάτων μόνον.

Blaydes reads στόματος. If this is right, what is the *causa corruptelae* δέρης?

452-4 :

οἱ δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τείχος
 θήκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς
 εὐμορφοὶ κατέχουσιν, ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυσεν.

454. εὐμορφοί, MSS. Blaydes should have accepted Davies' ingenious εὐκαλοὶ (cp. Hom. *Od.* 14, 479, εὐδον δ' εὐκηλοὶ) instead of εὐμόρφους, which is pointless.

ἔχοντας, MSS. Blaydes, δὲ γὰρ νιν, which is far from the *ductus*, and unlikely on account of γᾶς in preceding line.

560-2 :

ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τε κἀπὸ γῆς λειμώνιαι
 δρόσοι κατεψέκαζον, ἔμπεδον σίνος
 ἐσθημάτων, τιθέντες ἐνθηρον τρίχα.

561. Blaydes cuts the knot by reading δρόσος κατεψέκαζεν, ἔμπεδον πίνον | ἐσθ. τιθεῖσα κᾶνθηρον τρίχα. The alteration πίνον is quite uncalled for, as δρόσος could not produce πίνος. The other alterations remove the anomaly τιθέντες.

in supposed agreement with ὄμβροι, contained in δρόσοι, but are improbable, as it is not certain that Aeschylus did not occasionally treat adjectives and participles ending in -εις as of two terminations (cp. *Cho.* 591, *κάνεμοέντων αἰγίδων*).

589 :

φράζων ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν.

Blaydes gives in his text *κάνάστασιν*, unnecessarily, as the parallels quoted show. The latter he amends in the following fashion: *Eum.* 9, *λιπών τε λίμνην Δηλίαν καὶ χοιράδα* (MSS., *τε χ.*), *Eur.*, *Or.* 406, *Πυλάδης ὁ συνδρῶν αἶμα μητρὸς καὶ φόνον* (MSS. *καὶ μητ. φ.*) !

627 :

ἡ χεῖμα, κοινὸν ἄχθος, ἤρπασε στρατοῦ.

Blaydes rewrites the line thus—*ἡ χεῖματός νιν χος ἀφήρπασε στρατοῦ*, giving a very un-Aeschylean rhythm, and abandoning the *ductus* completely.

761-2 :

οἶκων γὰρ εὐθυδίκων
καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεί.

761. Blaydes δ' αὔ, which is far from the MSS., and gives an ugly shortening. Auratus's δ' ἄρ' is unobjectionable.

763-6 :

φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις μὲν παλαιὰ νεαζ-
ουσαν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν
ὕβριν τότ' ἢ τόθ', ὅταν τὸ κύριον μολῇ
νεαρὰ φάους κότον.

763. Blaydes reads in his text *νέαν αὔ τιν'*, which is excellent in point of sense, but how is the presence of *νεάζουσαν* to be explained? On l. 766 Blaydes rejects *νεαρὰ* as a gloss on *νεαζουσαν*, which, according to him, is a gloss itself on a word that requires no explanation.

765. Most edd. read *ὅτε*, which, like *ἐπεὶ* (Soph., *Ant.* 1016; *Oed. Col.* 1226) and *εὔτε* (*Sept.* 338), may be used with subj. There is no probability in Blaydes' *ὅταν ἐναίσιμον*, especially before *τόν τ' ἐναίσιμον τίει* just below (l. 775).

805-6 :

*νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως
εὐφρων πόνος εὖ τελέεσσι.*

805 : Blaydes reads *ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς*, which is excellent in point of sense, though far from the *ductus*.

806 : Blaydes reads *γένον' εὖ τελέσαντι*. I prefer Heimsoeth's *νόος*.

852 :

ἐλθὼν θεοῖσι πρῶτα δεξιώσομαι.

Blaydes gives in the text *θεοῖσι πρῶτα δὴ προσεύξομαι*, which is excellent Greek, but how are we to explain the presence of the idiomatic *δεξιώσομαι*?

877 :

ἐκ τῶνδέ τοι παῖς ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεῖ.

Blaydes says, "*aliena hic est particula τοι*," and reads *ἐμὸς*. The particle is idiomatic here, in its confidential sense, 'these are the reasons, mark me, for my son's absence.'

933 :

ἤξω θεοῖς δείσας ἄν ᾧδ' ἔρδειν τάδε.

Blaydes reads in the text *τιν' οὐ δράσειν τάδε*, which seems ungrammatical, as the negative should be *μή*.

943 :

πιθοῦ κράτος μέντοι παρές γ' ἐκὼν ἐμοί.

Blaydes reads *π.*, *κράτος τε δὸς παρὲς ἐκὼν ἐμοί*, but the particle *τοι* is recommended by the sense. The most probable conjecture is Blaydes's alternative suggestion, *πιθοῦ κρατεῖς τοι τόδε παρὲς ἐκ. ἐ.*, cp. Soph. *Ajax*, 1353, *παῦσαι, κρατεῖς τοι τῶν φίλων νικώμενος*.

995-6 :

πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσὶν
τελεσφόροις δίναις κυκλούμενον κέαρ.

995 : Blaydes gives ἐμφόβοις, which the sense requires, though it is hard to explain the origin of the reading ἐνδίκους.

996 : Blaydes places in his text W. Headlam's excellent suggestion κυκώμενον, which he forgets was already made by himself, cp. *Adversaria*, p. 201.

1007-9 :

καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων
κτησίῳ ὄκνος βαλὼν
· · · · ·
οὐκ ἐπόντισε σκάφος.

1007 : Blaydes reads μέρος τι χ. | κ. τις ἐκβαλὼν, absolutely abandoning the *ductus*, and disregarding Professor Housman's demonstration (*Journal of Phil.*, xvi., p. 273), which he quotes with approbation in his notes, "De totis opibus projiciendis, non de parte tantum earum, agi contendit Housman?" At the same time, it must be allowed that, in spite of Housman's convincing analysis of this Chorus, ll. 1007-9 remain desperately corrupt, for few will accept the latter's suggestion καὶ γόμον πρὸ (adverbial) χρ. | κτ. κενὸς (proleptic) β.

1045 :

ὦμοί τε δούλοις πάντα καὶ παρὰ στάθμην.

Blaydes places in his text the strange-looking word καπαράσταθμοι, which is entirely unknown.

1095 :

τοῖσδ' ἐπιπείθομαι.

Blaydes reads τοισίδε πείθομαι, although, in his note on l. 520, he holds that this form is un-Aeschylean.

1219 :

παῖδες θανόντες ὥσπερ εἰ πρὸς τῶν φίλων.

Blaydes gives in his text the striking conjecture ὥσπερ οἷς, which was suggested by Hartung's ὥς πόρεις. If the contracted form is correct (cp. Eur. *El.* 513 οἶν.), this emendation has high probability.

1264 :

τί δῆτ' ἐμαύτης καταγέλωτ' ἔχω τάδε.

Blaydes καταγέλων: but there is no passage, so far as I am aware, in Greek poetry to prove that the final syllable of the accusative of γέλως is long. Wilamowitz reads γέλον universally (cp. Wilamowitz, *Herakl.*, II., p. 108).

1356-7 :

χρονίζομεν γάρ. οἱ δὲ τῆς μελλούσης κλέος
πέδοι πατοῦντες.

Blaydes τὴν μελλοῦς χάριν, which seems to be ungrammatical (for τὴν τῆς μ. χ.). I should prefer οἱ δὲ δὴ or δέ τοι.

1428 :

λίπος ἐπ' ὀμμάτων αἵματος ἐμπρέπει.

Blaydes αἵματόεν πρέπει, an unnecessary, though pretty, suggestion.

1468 :

καὶ διφνεῖσι Τανταλίδαισιν.

Blaydes τοῖς τε δισσοῖσι T., a most unlikely correction.

1550 :

ἀλαθείᾳ φρενῶν πονήσει.

Blaydes ποθήσει, a very doubtful form for ποθέσεται.

Whatever opinion may be entertained by scholars on the subject of Dr. Blaydes's own alteration of the text, there is no doubt that he has made a wise selection from the suggestion of other scholars, and that on the whole his

edition of the *Agamemnon* is the most interesting and suggestive that has appeared. It is impossible within the limits of this article to refer to the many improvements he has introduced into the text, but I may quote the following as being the most noteworthy. It may be observed that none of them has been as much as mentioned in the critical notes of the edition lately added by Mr. A. Sidgwick to the series of Oxford Texts :—

38-9 :

ὥς ἐκὼν ἐγὼ
μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶν οὐ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι.

So Keck. Herw., αὐδῶ κ . . ου M., cp. Herod. iv. 43, ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι.

104 :

κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὄδιον τέρας αἴσιον ἀνδρῶν.

So Francken, κράτος M., which apparently has come from l. 108.

343-8 :

δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστήμου σωτηρίας·
θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκτης εἰ μόλοι στρατὸς, 345
κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν 344
γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τεύχοι κακὰ
ἐγρηγορὸς τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων.

345-4, placed in this order by Wecklein.

346. τεύχοι Franz, τύχοι M.

These suggestions remove many difficulties from a passage hitherto considered "desperatus."

484 :

φρυκτοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι.

So Zakas, πρὸ τοῦ, MSS.

496-7 :—

ὥς οὐκ ἀνανδος οὔτος ἀνδαίων φλόγα.
ῥλης ὀρέας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρὸς.

496. So Housman, οὔτ' ἀνανδος, οὔτε σοι δαίμων, MSS., an excellent and most probable conjecture.

555-7 :

μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσανλίας
 σπαρνάς τε βρίζεις καὶ κακοστρώτους, τί δ' οὐ
 τείνοντες ἢ χαλῶντες ἡματος μέρος.

556. So Herw., παρήξεις, MSS. The sense of Herw.'s conjecture is excellent, but β. does not occur elsewhere, and it cannot be shown that παρήξεις is impossible: besides the epithet κακοστρώτους is not very suitable to βρίζεις.

557. So A. Palmer, στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες, MSS. Blaydes says, "locum fere desperatum sagaciter sanavit vir amicus A. Palmer," but many may prefer Margoliouth's conjecture, στένοντας ἀσχάλλοντας. It may be noted that, by a printer's error, μέρον appears in Blaydes's text.

585-6 :

δόμοις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρα μέλειν
 εἰκὸς μάλιστα, σὺν δ' ἐπολολύζειν ἐμέ.

586. So Herw., δὲ πλουτίζειν, MSS., with no satisfactory sense.

728 :

ἦθος τρόπους τε τοκήων

So Enger, τὸ πρὸς, MSS.

816-7 :

τῷ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει
 ἐλπίς προσῆστ' ἀχρεῖος οὐ πληρουμένη.

So Keck, προσῆι χειρὸς, MSS.

825 :

ἵππος νεοσσῶν ἀσπιδηφόρων πλέως.

So Herw., ἵππου νεοσσὸς ἀσπιδηστρόφος λεὼς, MSS., a somewhat extensive though probable alteration of the MSS., as it seems absurd to call the immense 'equus durateus' a 'chick of a horse.'

827 :

ὑπερθρον δὲ πέργαμ' ὠμηστῆς λίων.

So Keck, πύργον, MSS, a correction not necessary in itself, but recommended by many parallels, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 515, *Fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit Pergama.*

930 :

ἐμπας τὰδ' οὐ πρᾶσσοιμ' ἂν εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ.

So Weyrauch, εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς MSS. Blaydes waxes enthusiastic over this emendation, "certissima emendatio. . . . O si sic omnes omnia corrigerent." It is certainly a very pretty reading, and removes two improbable grammatical anomalies.

984-5 :

χρόνος ἐπεὶ πρυμνησίων ξὺν ἐμβολαῖς
ψαμμίας ἀκτὰς παρήμειψεν, εὖτ' ἐπ' Ἴλιον
ῥῆτο, ναυβάτας στρατός.

So Karst., adopting some suggestions from other scholars, ἐπὶ π. ξυνεμβόλοις, ψαμμίας ἀκάτα(ς) παρήβησεν MSS. Blaydes's text is the most satisfactory solution of this desperate passage that I have seen. The changes proposed, though numerous, are slight, and remove all difficulties satisfactorily.

998 :

τελεσφόροις δίναις κυκώμενον κέαρ.

So Headlam, κυκλούμενον MSS., cp. Plato, *Crat.* 439, ὥσπερ εἷς τινα δίνην ἐμπεισύντες κυκῶνται.

1003 :

νόσος γὰρ <ἀεί>
γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐπείγει.

So F. W. Schmidt, ἐρείδει MSS. cp. Lucian, *Pseud.* 31, εἰ μὲν γὰρ νόσος τις ἐπείγει.

1020:

προποθέν τ' ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἷμα τίς ἄν, κ.τ.λ.

So Badham, *προπάροιθ'* MSS.; a certain emendation hitherto unaccountably neglected.

1026-7:

μοῖρα μοῖραν ἐκ θεῶν
εἶργε μὴ πλέω θροεῖν.

So Herw., for *πλέον φέρειν*, another certain conjecture.

1290:

ιοῦσ' ἀτρεστῶς τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν.

So Maehly, *πράξω* MSS.

Dr. Blaydes's critical notes and commentary, having been put together at various times and seasons during a long life, are full of inconsistencies. Naturally enough, a scholar's views are subject to change, but in Dr. Blaydes's notes the earlier and later views have been allowed to stand side by side, no attempt having been made at conciliation during the passage of the work through the press. I may be allowed to quote a few characteristic instances of such inconsistencies, which somewhat detract from the utility of this edition, at least for young scholars—

131. *προτυπὲν*: Blaydes favours Kayser's emendation *πρότερον*, referring to l. 341, although on that passage he writes "*mendosum videtur πρότερον*."

328. *γερόντων*: "*recte tuetur Davies*," Blaydes, although, in preceding note, he writes "*φυτάλμιοι παίδων γέροντες*, Heyse, Weil, *recte*."

428. "*ὑπερτερώτερα*, Herw., *recte*," Blaydes, although he places Housman's *ὑπερκοπώτερα* in his text.

759. Blaydes places in his text *τέκνα μὲν* (MSS. *μετὰ μὲν*) of Auratus, although, in his note, he writes "*magis tamen placet μετόπιν*."

1137. "θοροῖ recte Franz," Blaydes, although immediately after he writes, "verum esse θροῶ ostendit seq. θροῖ l. 1141," and yet, in *Addenda*, he reads "θέλω . . . ἐπεγχαίαι," rejecting Herw. ὑπ' ἔγχειος, which he had placed in the text, and styled a "palmaria conjectura."

1594. On this difficult passage, Blaydes writes, "omnia plana fiunt," if we read τὰ μὲν ποδὶρη . . . ἔκρυπτ' ἀνευθεν ἀνδράκας καθήμενος, although, in the same note, he agrees with Housman's demonstration that "in no language, save the tongue of Soli, can one person καθῆσθαι ἀνδρακὰς any more than he can form himself in square to receive cavalry."

A further peculiarity of Dr. Blaydes as an editor is his absolute disregard of the rules regulating the final critic. It is true that he rarely inserts emendations in his text which violate "Porson's pause," but in his critical notes a very slight search will discover an abundant crop. I may refer to l. 520, where he proposes φαιδροῖς ἐδέξασθ' ὕμμασι, φαιδροῖσιν ἤκοντ' ὕμμασι, φαιδροῖσι νοστιῦντ' ὄμμασι, to l. 1434, where he does himself an injustice in suggesting as improvements of οὐ μοι φόβου μέλαθρον ἐλπίς ἐμπατεῖ, a line very bold in its imagery, but not demonstrably wrong, such atrocities as οὐ μοι φόβος τὰ μέλαθρα ταῦτ' ἔστ' ἐμπατεῖν, οὗτοι φοβοῦμαι μέλαθρα βασιλεί' ἐμπατεῖν, οὗτοι φοβήσομαι μέλαθρα ταῦτ' ἐμπατεῖν.¹ Indeed, it may be said, with truth that, in the haphazard suggestions that crowd Dr. Blaydes's critical notes, the principles of metre and correct grammar, over which Dr. Blaydes really has a mastery equalled by few living scholars, are at times deliberately flouted. For example, on l. 16, he suggests ᾗδεν ὅταν τι ἦ, although it is *sus Minervam* to inform him that the hiatus after τι is

¹ Probably Dr. Blaydes thinks, with Erfurdt, that the elision in the 5th foot makes a difference (see his note on Soph. *El.* 1101), but to disprove this view it is sufficient to refer to Jebb on Soph. *Phil.* 22 (*append.*).

Other violations of this well-known law are—839. εἴδωλ' ἢ σκιάς: 904. πολλὰ γὰρ τοι πρὶν κακὰ: 934. εἶπον κα θέλων: 1261. ἐνθεῖσ' ἐν ποτῶ (in text). 1322. θρήνον πρὶν θανεῖν.

unexampled in tragedy; on l. 918 he presents us with a spondee in 4th foot, καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ γυναικέοις τρόποις ἐμέ; on l. 1578, with a spondee in 2nd foot, φαίην ἂν νῦν ἤδη βροτῶν τιμαόρους, a line, be it remarked, also devoid of caesura. Again for l. 1060 he proposes εἰ δ' ἄξυνήμων οὔσα δέχεται μὴ λόγον, a line more than doubtful in point of metre, and impossible on account of the postponement of the negative.

I may conclude by adding the following emendations which are wrong, rash, or unnecessary: 328 τοκήων (for γερόντων), an impossible form in iambic verse; 354 οὐ σμικρὰ 'στ' ἀπηλλάχθαι πόνων, which is no improvement on οὐκ ἄτιμος εἴργασται πόνων; 579 εἰσαεῖ (for ἀρχαίων); 819 ὅπως θύελλα βᾶσα for ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι; 1071 τοῦτό γ' αἶνεσον for the thoroughly Aeschylean τοῦτο καίνισον; 1117 ἀκόρετος φόνων, which is impossible after φόνου in preceding line; 1172 ἐγὼ δὲ θερμὸν αἱμά γ' ἐν πῆδῳ βαλῶ, where γε has no meaning.

Although Dr. Blaydes is very complaisant in relation to his own work, his attitude towards the suggestions of other scholars is occasionally different. For example, on l. 717, he prefers a λέοντα σίντην, as a playfellow for children, to Conington's λεόντος ἱνιν, forgetting Stevenson's warning to "maidens and boys," that "the Lion is the King of Beasts, but he is scarcely suitable for a domestic pet."

A great charm of Dr. Blaydes's edition is the aptness of his references to Elizabethan poets, not always correctly quoted, to illustrate the style of Aeschylus. In many cases the best commentary on a metaphor in Aeschylus is a parallel passage from Shakespeare, who, in boldness of imagery, more than equals the great Athenian poet.

The following are a few instances of a singular similarity of thought and expression.

250. *Comus*, 362 :

"What need a man forestall his date of grief,
And run to meet what he would most avoid?"

650. *Troil. and Cress.*, II. 2 :

"The winds and water,¹ old wranglers, took a truce,
And did him service."

Par. Reg. IV. 412 :

"Water with fire in ruin reconciled."

699. *Troil. and Cress.*, II. 2 :

"Cry, Trojans, cry ! a Helen and a woe."

975. *Rom. and Jul.*, V. 1 :

"If I may trust the flattering eye² of sleep,
My dreams presage some joyful news at hand,
My bosom's lord sits lightly on his throne,
And all this day an unaccustom'd spirit
Lifts me above the ground with cheerful thoughts."

1121. Massinger, *Emp. of the East*, IV. 4 :

"My blood within me turns, and through my veins
Parting with natural redness, I disarm it
Changed to a fatal yellow."

Shakespeare, *Jul. Caes.*,³ II. 1 :

"Dear as the ruddy drops that visit my sad heart."

I conclude by adding a few suggestions of my own that occurred to me in reading Dr. Blaydes's critical notes.

12-16 :

εὖ τ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ἔνδροσόν τ' ἔχω
εὐνὴν ὀνείροις οὐκ ἐπισκοπούμενην
ἐμὴν· φόβος γὰρ ἂν θ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ,
τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ.
ὅταν δ' αἰδεῖν κ.τ.λ.

¹ Apparently quoted from memory.
Read : 'The seas and winds.'

² Read : 'flattering truth,' and 'in
his throne.'

³ Read :

'As dear to me as are the ruddy drops
That visit my sad heart.'

12. εὔτ' ἄν δὲ MSS. The temporal particle cannot be correct, as there is no apodosis. Shilleto (*de Falsa Leg.* 300) held that ὕταν δ' l. 16, is a repetition of the preceding εὔτ' ἄν, δὲ being resumptive ('when, I repeat'), but the context of the ὕταν-clause is quite different. Scholars have suggested many alterations, viz.: κοίτην δὲ Bent., ἧ τήνδε Keck. (accepted by Blaydes in his text), εὔδων δὲ Wilamowitz. I suggest ἐν τῷδε (= 'meanwhile').

14. ἐμήν. MSS. The emphatic position of the pronoun at end of clause, followed by a stop, is not without parallel in Aesch. (cp. *Eum.* 581, *Suppl.* 371, Weckl.), but there is no contrast here "between the speaker and someone else," as Verrall thinks. Scholars have altered the word in various ways (e.g. ἐμοί, τί μήν; ἔτλην, κ.τ.λ.) without suggesting the *causa corruptelae*.

I suggest ἐν η (= πάλαι), an adverb that might readily be corrupted on account of its rarity. It is glossed ἐκ πολλοῦ by the Schol. on Arist. *Ach.* 610 ἤδη πεπρέσβευκας σὺ πολλὸς ὦν ἐν η;

ἀνθ' ὕπνου MSS. ὕπνου is impossible in a good stylist on account of the repetition in the next line. Wecklein suggests ἀντίπνους, which, however probable palæographically, has no discoverable sense: A. Palmer, ἄγρυνος. I suggest ἄγχι που (ΑΓΧΙΠΟΥ).

128-30:

πάντα δὲ πύργων
κτῆνη πρόσθε τὰ δημοπλήθη
Μοῖρα λαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον.

128. πύργων MSS. Τευκρῶν Margoliouth, which is very probable. Housman's Φρυγῶν is still more attractive, if ξύμφρονα ταγάν be read in str. l. 110.

129. προσθετὰ M. Blaydes says, with most editions, "connecte πύργων cum πρόσθε" "the public flocks and herds before the wells" (Paley), but this seems pointless.

Prof. Housman reads *προσθετὰ* in its legal sense, 'addicta.' I suggest *πρὸςφата*, 'fresh-slain,' cp. Hom. *Il.* 24, 757.

158 :

δεξιὰ μὲν κατάμομφα δὲ φάσματα στρουθῶν.

στρουθῶν MSS. All editors since Porson have rejected this word, but have failed to discover the *causa corruptelae*: viz. : νοσσῶν Keck, φαίνων Dind., ἀνορθοῦν Weckl., 'Ατρείδαιν Schoemann, etc. I suggest *πρωῦδων* (ΠΡΩΥΔΩΝ), cp. Arist. *An.* 556.

170-1 :

οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας, παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων,
οὐδὲν λέξαι πρὶν ὧν.

170. οὐδ' ὅστις MSS. Read ὅστις μὲν (Ken.), or οὐχ ὅστις (Blaydes).

171. οὐδὲν λέξαι MSS. οὐδὲ λέγεται H. L. Ahrens., οὐ λελέγεται Franz., οὐδὲν εὔξεται Blaydes. I suggest, as closer to the *ductus*, οὐκέρ' ἐν δόξῃ, cp. Isocr. 72 B οἱ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δόξαις ὄντες, or, if a short syllable should be preferred, ἐν δοκᾷ.

245 :

φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὐποτμον
παιᾶνα φίλως ἐτίμα

εὐποτμον M. "Mendosum videtur" (Blaydes). I suggest *ἐντονον*, cp. Arist. *Ach.* 665, δεῦρο Μοῦσ' ἐλθὲ φλεγυρὰ, πυρὸς ἔχουσα μένος, ἐντονος, 'Αχαρνική.

286-9 :

ὑπερτελής δὲ, πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι
ἰσχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονήν
πέυκη τὸ χρυσοφεγγές ὥς τις ἥλιος
σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπαῖς.

288. πέυκη MSS. Blaydes says "nil mutandum," holding that πέυκη is in opposition to ἰσχύς π. λ., but in the passage

which he adduces in defence of this unlikely proposal (viz.: 1. 105, *ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνέει | πειθῶ μολπᾶν | ἀλκὰν σύμφυτος αἰών*), *πειθοῖ* is undoubtedly the right reading. Editors suggest *ἦρθη, προὔβη, ἐπέσυτο, κ.τ.λ.* I propose *σκήπτει* (CKHΠTEI) as close to the *ductus*, cp. ll. 308, 310.

305-8:

*πέμπουσι δ' ἀνδαίοντες ἀφθόνῳ μένει
φλογὸς μέγαν πύγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ
πορθμοῦ κάτοπτον πρῶν' ὑπερβάλλειν πρόσω
φλέγουσαν· εἴτ' ἔσκηψεν εἴτ' ἀφικετο κ.τ.λ.*

306. καὶ MSS.

307. ὑπερβάλλειν MSS.

It is really impossible to accept *καὶ* and *ὑπερβάλλειν*, as Paley's explanation is too tortuous (viz.: "the construction is, ὥστε <τὴν φλόγα οἱ λαμπάδα> ὑπερβάλλειν καὶ πρῶνα). I suggest *χῆ Σαρωνικοῦ | π. κ. π. ὑπερβάλλει π. | φλέγουσ' ἔπειτ' ἔσ. εὔτ' ἂ.*

341-2:

*ἔρως δὲ μή τις πρότερον ἐμπίπτῃ στρατῷ
πορθεῖν ἂ μὴ χρῆ, κέρδεσιν νικωμένους.*

341. *πρότερον* MSS. "*Mendosum videtur*" (Blaydes), as few are likely to accept Paley's explanation 'before they leave Troy.' Herwerden reads *πονηρὸς*, which is too far from the *ductus*. I suggest *ἔρως δὲ μή τις ἕτερος*, cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 34 (60), *δαίμων ἕτερος = κακός*, Dem. Or. 22, § 12, *ἀγαθὰ ἢ θάτερα, ἵνα μηδὲν εἶπω φλαῦρον*.

365-6:

*ὅπως ἂν
μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ ἄστρον
βέλος ἡλίθιον σκήψειεν.*

365. *ὑπὲρ ἄστρον* MSS. "*Mendosa videtur vulgata*" (Blaydes). Hartung read *ὑπὲρ αἶσαν*, Herwerden *ὑστερον αὖ* ("probabiliter" Blaydes), Blaydes (in text) *ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν*, which seems weak. I am not quite certain that the

proverb ἄστρα τοξεύειν (Zenob. iii. 46) is not sufficient to justify the text,—if not, I would suggest ὑπεράραν, cp. l. 786, πῶς σε σεβίζω | μήθ' ὑπεράρας μήθ' ὑποκάμψας | καιρὸν χάριτος.

373-80 :

πέφανται δ' ἐγγόνους
ἀτολμήτων Ἄρη
πνεόντων μείζον ἢ δικαίως,
φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφεν
ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον· ἔστω δ' ἀπήμαντον ὥστ'
ἀπαρκεῖν
εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα.

373. ἐγγόνους MSS. ἐκτίνουσα Hart., Sidgw., ἔργον οὔσα Margoliouth, "verba corrupta" (Blaydes), οὔσ' ἄνους ἁτόλμα κ.τ.λ., Blaydes. "requiri videtur epithetum aliquid *vana futilis* significans" (Blaydes). I suggest οὐδὲν οὔσ'.

379. ὑπὲρ MSS. Impossible after ὑπέρφεν. Blaydes suggests, with some probability, μέτρον δὲ.

ἔστω δ' ἀπήμαντον MSS. "Haec vitio laborant," Blaydes, whose corrections are very wild. Sidgwick translates, "let there be what brings no woe, but suffices for him whose heart is wise," but it is difficult to supply a subject with ἔστω. Both sense and MSS. tradition are satisfied if we read ἔστω δὲ πᾶμ' ἔνδον, 'let there be wealth about one to suffice for him who is wise' (reading λαχόντι). πᾶμα 'property,' is found in Theocr. *Fistula* 12, Anth. P. 15, 25. Prof. Housman has some valuable remarks on this class of words in *Journal of Phil.* xvi., although I cannot accept his view that the same root occurs in πημονᾶς γέμων ἅπαξ (l. 1012).

497-98 :

ὥς οὐτ' ἀναυδος οὔτε σοι δαίμων φλόγα
ὑλῆς ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρὸς.

I can see no sense in καπνῷ which would not be a satisfactory signal by night. Blaydes suggests φρυκτῷ.

I think πανῶ, which is very close to the *ductus*, is more probable.

597 :

θυηφάγον κοιμῶντες εὐώδη φλόγα.

As κοιμῶντες seems to give the opposite of the sense required (καίοντες Dobr., κινοῦντες Schn., κινράντες Blaydes), cp. Virg. *Aen.* v. 74, 3, *sofītus* suscitāt *ignes*, I suggest τηρῶντες, which is further from the *ductus* than I could wish.

636-7 :

εὐφημον ἡμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλῳ
γλώσση μιαίνειν χωρὶς ἢ τιμῇ θεῶν.

637. χωρὶς ἢ τιμῇ θεῶν MSS. : ungrammatical for χ. ἢ τ. τῶν θ. : besides the sense is obscure and unsatisfactory, 'the honour of the gods are apart (from evil tidings)' Sidgwick. I suggest, as giving the sense which the context apparently requires, χαρτὸν εἴ τι μὴ κυρεῖ (or θροεῖ).

674-5 :

Μενέλεων γὰρ οὖν
πρωτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα προσδόκα μολεῖν.

The aor. μολεῖν, in the sense of μολεῖσθαι, is impossible after προσδόκα (cp. Eur. *Herc.* 727), and the opposite sense is required. Wecklein suggests καμεῖν ; Blaydes reads in text θανεῖν ; but how shall we explain the reading of MSS. ? I suggest πονεῖν.

804-5 :

θράσος ἐκούσιον
ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι.

804 : I accept, with most recent edd., Franz's brilliant emendation ἐκ θυσιῶν, which involves but the substitution of θ for ο.

805 : θνήσκουσι, MSS., 'dying through want of supplies' (Paley), but few will think this a satisfactory explanation.

Blaydes reads *δκνοῦσι*, Emper *νήφουσι*. I suggest with some confidence *θρήσκοισι* (= 'superstitious,' Hesych.)¹

931 :

καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἰπὲ μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοί.

Blaydes reads *εἴκε* with much probability, and furthermore *καὶ* for *μῆ*. I should prefer *κεῖ*, EI being easily confounded with H, and *κ* with *μ* (in minuscules), cp. Arist. *Vesp.* 1091 where I have read *ἄρα δεινὸς ἢ τόθ' ὥστε πάντ' ἐκεῖ δεδοικέναι* for *πάντα μῆ* of MSS., and Cobet, VL., pp. 52, 388.

1001-3 :

*μάλα γάρ τοι τᾶς πολλᾶς ὑγιείας
ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. νόσος γὰρ . . .
γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρεῖδει.*

1001: *γάρ τοι*, Fl. v. I accept Headlam's *τι γὰρ*; the usual reading *γέ τοι* (F.), 'at any rate,' makes no sense in this context. *τᾶς πολλᾶς*, Fl. v., "lectio corrupta" (Blaydes). I can see no probability in Paley's or Blaydes's *τὸ μεγάλας*. Read *τὸ τελέας*.

1002: *τέρμα* MSS. If this is right, it is hard to see the meaning of *ἀκόρεστον*, which may have come from l. 1331, *τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἄκ. ἔφν*. The sense required is, 'is ever near.' I suggest *χρῆμα* (cp. Arist. *Nub.* 1), *τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὄσον | ἀπέραντον*.

1075 :

οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὥστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν.

Margoliouth, Blaydes (in text) *κλύειν*. I suggest *χατείν* as closer to the *ductus lit.* It is an Epic word, but such were affected by Aeschylus.

¹ It has been pointed out to me that the late Professor Kennedy proposed, but did not adopt, this conjecture

many years ago. It still appears to me highly probable.

1095-6 :

μαρτυρίοισι γὰρ τοῖσδ' ἐπιπειθομαι·
κλαόμενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγὰς.

There seems to be no construction for l. 1096. I suggest
κλαόμενά τ' ἴδε βρέφη σφαγὰς.

1133-5 :

κακῶν γὰρ διαὶ
πολυεπεῖς τέχναι θεσπιωδῶν
φόβον φέρουσιν μαθεῖν.

1133 : διαὶ MSS. I fail to see the sense of διαὶ, which is
altered by many editors (viz. δυᾶν, γοῦν, ἀεὶ κτλ.). Perhaps
λίαν is a possible conjecture.

1230-32 :

οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλῶσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς
λέξασα καὶ κτείνασα φαιδρόνους δίκην
ἄτης λαθραίου τεύξεται κακῇ τύχῃ.

1231 : Blaydes rightly gives in the text Madvig's bril-
liant emendations λείξασα κακτείνασα φαιδρόν οὐς δίκην.

1232 : Madvig δήξειται. I should prefer to read ἄτης
λαθραίας εὔξεται, λαθραίας being suggested by Blaydes in
the Addenda.

W. J. M. STARKIE.

AN UNPUBLISHED ESSAY BY BERKELEY.

NOTWITHSTANDING the very careful search in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, made by Prof. A. C. Fraser when collecting materials for his account of Berkeley, two early essays of the great Idealist escaped his notice. One of these essays is a description of the cave of Dunmore, near Kilkenny; the other bears the title, "Of Infinites." Both are in Berkeley's own handwriting, and are contained in that miscellaneous collection of MSS. of varying dates ranging from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, known as the "Molyneux Papers." The collection contains many of the contributions to the proceedings of the Dublin Philosophical Society, the predecessor of the present Royal Dublin Society in one sense, and of the Royal Irish Academy in another. To William Molyneux, the patriot and friend of Locke, is due the credit of founding, in 1683, what was then called simply the Dublin Society. Molyneux was its first secretary, and managed its affairs successfully until the political disturbances of 1687-1690, by banishing its members, put a stop to its meetings. In 1692, Molyneux brought about a reconstitution of the society, but it had not sufficient energy to survive his death in 1698. Towards the close of 1707 the Society was revived, and the post of secretary was passed on to the son, Samuel Molyneux, then an undergraduate in Trinity College. The "Molyneux Papers" contain essays read at each of these three periods of the society's existence; and it is exceedingly probable that it is in this way, as contributions to the proceedings of the Society of 1707, the two essays by

Berkeley have been included in the collection. The endorsement on each essay is in the handwriting of Samuel Molyneux, at least as far as it is safe to conclude from the few words used in each case.

The description of the Dunmore cave, however, bears date, January 10, 1705/6: while the revived Dublin Society held its first meetings at the end of 1707. Now Prof. Fraser found, in Berkeley's "Commonplace Book," codes of rules of two societies, the earlier code being headed thus:—"The following Statutes were agreed to and signed by a Society consisting of eight persons, January 10, A.D. 1705." One of these rules limits the membership to eight persons. The second of the two Societies, an enlargement of the first, appears to date from the end of 1706. So the history of these gatherings runs somewhat as follows:—In January, 1705/6, a small coterie of College men arranged meetings for discussing subjects of common interest. A successful session caused them to widen their lines for the following year, and finally, at the end of 1707, to attempt the much more ambitious task of reviving the Dublin Society. Berkeley's "Description of the Dunmore Cave" may have been the inaugural essay of the first stage, while certain corrections and additions that are in the copy seem to be a retouching for a subsequent reading at the more public meetings of the 1707 revival. Of the contents of this essay it is not necessary to treat, for it is practically identical with the description of the cave found by Prof. Fraser in Berkeley's "Commonplace Book," and printed by him in the biography.

There is no date attached to the essay "Of Infinites." However that it is among the Molyneux Papers and endorsed by Samuel Molyneux points unmistakably towards the conclusion that this essay belongs to the same period as its companion. The only internal chronological mark of any importance is the reference to Cheyne's

Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion, which was published in London in 1705. There is a passage in the "Analyst" which may possibly refer to this essay:—Section 50. "Of a long time I have suspected that these modern analytics were not scientific, and gave some hints thereof to the public about twenty-five years ago." Professor Fraser, however, regards this as an allusion to certain sections in the "Principles." The essay "Of Infinites" has much in common with the "Analyst," though it does not carry the argument into the religious province by the *ad hominem* method so prominent in the later attack on the mathematicians of the calculus.

As the reference to Cheyne fixes 1705 as the earliest limit of the time of composition, so possibly 1709 may be assigned as a late limit, for in that year Samuel Molyneux left Dublin. The somewhat disconnected character of the essay, and a certain impression of crudeness in the manner of thought, suggest the earlier portion of this period as the more probable.

SWIFT P. JOHNSTON.

OF INFINITES.

Tho' some mathematicians of this last age have made prodigious advances and open'd divers admirable methods of investigation unknown to the ancients, yet something there is in their principles which occasions much controversy and dispute to the great scandal of the so much celebrated evidence of Geometry. These disputes and scruples arising from the use that is made of quantitys infinitely small in the above mentioned methods, I am bold to think they might easily be brought to an end by the sole consideration of one passage in the incomparable Mr. Locke's "Treatise of Humane Understanding," b. 2. ch. 17. sec. 7, where that authour, handling the subject of infinity with that judgment and

clearness which is so peculiar to him, has these remarkable words :—" I guess we cause great confusion in our thoughts when we joyn infinity to any suppos'd idea of quantity the mind can be thought to have, and so discourse or reason about an infinite quantity, viz., an infinite space or an infinite duration. For our idea of infinity being, as I think, an endless growing idea, but the idea of any quantity the mind has being at that time terminated in that idea, to join infinity to it is to adjust a standing measure to a growing bulk, and, therefore, I think 'tis not an insignificant subtilty if I say we are carefully to distinguish between the idea of infinity of space and the idea of space infinite."

Now if what Mr. Locke says were, *mutatis mutandis*, apply'd to quantity infinitely small, it would, I doubt not, deliver us from that obscurity and confusion which perplexes otherwise very great improvements of the Modern Analysis. For he that, with Mr. Locke, shall duly weigh the distinction there is betwixt the infinity of space and space infinitely great or small, and consider that we have an idea of the former but none at all of the later, will hardly go beyond his notions to talk of parts infinitely small or *partes infinitesimae* of finite quantitys and much less of *infinitesimae infinitesimalium* and so on. This, nevertheless, is very common with writers of fluxions or the differential calculus, &c. They represent, upon paper, infinitesimals of several orders, as if they had ideas in their minds corresponding to those words or signs, or as if it did not include a contradiction that there should be a line infinitely small and yet another infinitely less than it. 'Tis plain to me we ought to use no sign without an idea answering it and 'tis as plain that we have no idea of a line infinitely small, nay, 'tis evidently impossible there should be any such thing, for every line how minute soever, is still divisible into parts less than itself, therefore there can be no such thing as a line *quavis data minor* or infinitely small.

Further it plainly follows that an infinitesimal even of the first degree is merely nothing from what Dr. Wallis, an approv'd mathematician, writes at the 95th proposition of his "Arithmetic of Infinites," where he makes the asymptotic space included between the two asymptotes and the curve of an hyperbola to be in his stile

a *series reciproca primanorum*, so that the first term of the series, viz., the asymptote, arises from the division of 1 by 0. Since, therefore, unity, *i.e.* any finite line divided by 0 gives the asymptote of an hyperbola *i.e.* a line infinitely long, it necessarily follows that a finite line divided by an infinite gives 0 in the quotient *i.e.* that the *pars infinitesima* of a finite line is just nothing. For by the nature of division the dividend divided by the quotient gives the divisor. Now a man speaking of lines infinitely small will hardly be suppos'd to mean nothing by them, and if he understands real finite quantitys he runs into inextricable difficultys.

Let us look a little into the controversy between Mr. Nieuentiit and Mr. Leibnitz. Mr. Nieuentiit allows infinitesimals of the first order to be real quantitys but the *differentiæ differentiarum* or infinitesimals of the following orders he takes away making them just so many noughts. This is the same thing as to say the square, cube, or other power of a real positive quantity is equal to nothing, which is manifestly absurd.

Again Mr. Nieuentiit lays down this as a self evident axiom, viz., that betwixt two equal quantitys there can be no difference at all, or, which is the same thing, that their difference is equal to nothing. This truth, how plain soever, Mr. Leibnitz sticks not to deny, asserting that not onely those quantitys are equal which have no difference at all, but also those whose difference is incomparably small. *Quemadmodum* (says he) *si lineæ punctum alterius lineæ addas quantitatē non augeas*. But if lines are infinitely divisible, I ask how there can be any such thing as a point? Or granting there are points, how can it be thought the same thing to add an indivisible point as to add, for instance, the *differentia* of an ordinate in a parabola, which is so far from being a point that it is itself divisible into an infinite number of real quantitys whereof each can be subdivided *in infinitum*, and so on, according to Mr. Leibnitz. These are difficultys those great men have run into by applying the idea of infinity to particles of extension exceeding small but real and still divisible.

More of this dispute may be seen in the *Acta Eruditorum* for the month of July, A.D. 1695, where, if we may believe the French author of *Analyse des infiniments petits*, Mr. Leibnitz has sufficiently

established and vindicated his principles. Tho' 'tis plain he cares not for having 'em call'd in question, and seems afraid that *nimia scrupulositate arti inveniendi obex ponatur*, as if a man could be too scrupulous in Mathematics, or as if the principles of Geometry ought not to be as incontestable as the consequences drawn from them.

There is an argument of Dr. Cheyne's in the 4th chapter of his "Philosophical principles of natural religion" which seems to make for quantitys infinitely small. His words are as follows:—"The whole abstract geometry depends upon the possibility of infinitely great and small quantitys, and the truths discover'd by methods which depend upon these suppositions are confirm'd by other methods which have other foundations." To which I answer that the supposition of quantitys infinitely small is not essential to the great improvements of the modern Analysis. For Mr. Leibnitz acknowledges his *Calculus differentialis* might be demonstrated *reductione ad absurdum* after the manner of the ancients, and Sir Isaac Newton, in a late treatise, informs us his method of Fluxions can be made out *a priori* without the supposition of quantitys infinitely small.

I can't but take notice of a passage in Mr. Raphson's treatise *De Spatio Reali seu Ente Infinito*, chap. 3, page 50, where he will have a particle infinitely small to be *quasi extensa*. But what Mr. Raphson would be thought to mean by *pars continui quasi extensa* I cannot comprehend. I must also crave leave to observe that some modern writers of note make no scruple to talk of a sphere of an infinite radius, or an equilateral triangle of an infinite side, which notions if thoroughly examin'd may perhaps be found not altogether free from inconsistencies.

Now I am of opinion that all disputes about infinites, would cease and the consideration of quantitys infinitely small no longer perplex Mathematicians, would they but joyn Metaphysics to their Mathematics and condescend to learn from Mr. Locke what distinction there is betwixt infinity and infinite.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CAUSE AND REGULATING PRINCIPLE OF VARIABLE AND COMMON QUANTITY IN LATIN.

WE occasionally meet in the classical poets cases of apparently abnormal quantity. Two such cases occur in these verses :—

“istos commodā : nam volo ad Serapim
deferri.” “manē me,” inquit puellae.

CATULLUS, x. 26, 27.

The shortening of the final syllables of *commoda* and *mane* has been regarded as so irregular, that many editors have proposed emendations. The late Professor Palmer retains the reading of the best MSS., and suggests that Catullus may have been imitating colloquial Latin. In favour of that view, evidence of various kinds can be adduced.

It can scarcely be a coincidence that the final syllables of *commoda* and *mane* are shortened under precisely similar circumstances ; and under circumstances, moreover, which would have justified (if not required) their shortening in Plautine or Terentian verse. The *a* of *commoda* and the *e* of *mane* are both preceded by a short syllable and followed by a long one bearing the metrical *ictus*. From the fact, then, that Catullus has here used a so-called licence which is regularly found in the versification of comedy, there is a *prima facie* probability that he is imitating the spoken language ; and that probability can by other pieces of evidence be strengthened almost to the point of certainty.

It is, I think, possible to show that the peculiarities of comic verse rested on tendencies in spoken Latin so deep-seated and permanent as to have perceptibly influenced the verse of every period. In order to make this clear,

it will be necessary to state briefly once more the distinctive characteristic of comic verse. It is this:—In comic verse there appears variation in quantity. Certain syllables that are normally long are sometimes found long, sometimes short. The second syllable of *senectutem*, for instance, is sometimes long, sometimes short. Yet this variation is not indiscriminate, but obeys a definite and ascertainable law, the governing influence in which is metrical *ictus*. What gravitation is to the solar system, metrical *ictus* is to comic verse. The law under which this governing principle operates may be formulated thus:—Any normally long syllable, whether long by nature or by position, may be shortened (1) if it be preceded by a short syllable bearing the metrical *ictus*; OR (2) if it be preceded by a short syllable *and* followed by a long one bearing the metrical *ictus*. All disturbances of quantity in comic verse (at least in the *diverbia*) are regulated by this law.¹ It is strikingly illustrated in the following examples:—

máně manē, Charíne.—gerrae: síc me decipere haúd potes.

PLAUT. *Merc.* 928.

máně manē: quid ěst quód tam a nobis gráviter crepuerúnt fores?

TER. *Haut.* 613.

néc tibí nec tíbí: nec vos est æquom quod fació mihi.

TER. *Haut.* 977.

nołó volō: volō nólo rursum: cápe cedo.

TER. *Phorm.* 950.

et ád pudicitiam ět ád rem tutandám sient.

TER. *And.* 288.

módđ sursum módđ deorsum támquam collus cérnuí.

LUCIL. ap. Non. 21. 5. (= 200. 18).

¹ The accentual law will not, of course, explain the supposed shortening of the first syllables of the five words *ille, iste, inde, unde, nempe*; but it is not certain that they ever were shortened. It is certain that some of these five words, and highly

probable that all of them, had monosyllabic forms in the living language. This perfectly explains their peculiar prosody. Similarly, some other cases of supposed shortening beyond the limits of the accentual law admit of a different explanation.

There is nothing irregular, no licence: everything is in accordance with the law above formulated, as indeed is practically every seeming metrical irregularity in the *diverbia* of Latin comedy.

Assuming that comic verse imitates spoken Latin, we must suppose the above law to hold good equally for the latter, with the substitution of verbal accent for metrical *ictus*. We must suppose, for instance, that the Romans said *cōmmodā nōbīs libellos*, but *cōmmodā libéllos nobīs*.

Turning now to classical verse, in order to discover in it traces of the influence of the same principle, it is well to observe, and to bear constantly in mind, the fact that, as a general rule, *in comic verse no normally long syllable can possibly be shortened, unless it be preceded by a short syllable*. A glance at the law as formulated above shows that this is so. That is the reason, for example, why *immo* always has its last syllable long in Plautus, while *modo* varies in the quantity of its last syllable. If then one compares these two verses of Ovid—

et nihīl ést annis velocius, &c.

Mel. x. 520;

morte nihīl opus est, nihīl Ícariotide tela

Ex Ponto iii. i. 113—

it is evident that here is an instance of variation of quantity occurring under conditions identical with those under which the same phenomenon occurs in comic verse: the variable syllable *-īl*, normally long, is, when shortened, preceded by a short, and followed by a long, in *arsis*. Again, certain verbs have sometimes short *o* in the 1st person. The commonest are *puto*, *scio*, *nescio*: others are *volo*, *rogo*, *sentio*, *desino*, *confero*, *peto*, &c. All of these have a short syllable before the variable one, and the licence of shortening the *o* of verbs with long penultimate is, comparatively, so rare, that L. Müller, in recording the fact that Propertius (iv. 8. 35)

ends a hexameter with *mare findō carina*, remarks, “longe maiore grassatus audacia” (De re Metrica, p. 415). But that is not all. A little reflection will show that the shortened *o* of verbs like *puto* or *desino* must necessarily, in dactylic or logaoedic verse, immediately precede a long syllable in *arsis*; and thus the final *o* is shortened under conditions which would have justified (or rather necessitated) its correption in comic verse. Where this shortened *o* occurs in lyric verse (not in Horace, except the noun *Pollio*: v. L. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 414), it will be found to be shortened under similar conditions: cf. Catull. xiii. 11; vi. 4; vi. 16.¹ Again, in Verg. *A.* vi. 779,

vidēn út geminae stant vertice cristae,

the shortening of *en* (= *ēs-ne*) occurs under the same conditions: cf. Cat. lxi. 77. *Benē* and *malē* also have their finals shortened, not because they were very commonly used, for the equally common *longe* retained its quantity, but because their short penultimate brought them within the scope of the great accentual law.

Turning now to variation of quantity in words of a different type, it is clear that the middle syllable of *latebrae* is normally long—from its derivation from *latere*. If now we compare

tum lātēbrās animae, pectus, mucrone recludit

VERG. *A.* 10, 601,

and

quid ad me ibatis?—rīdiculum—vērēbāmini, &c. .

TER. *Phorm.* 902,

we have variation from normal quantity under substantially identical conditions. In either case it is the naturally long

¹ Really the so-called licence of Cat. xiii. 11—*nam unguentum dābō quōd meae puellae*—is strictly parallel with

the shortening of *a* in *commoda* and *e* in *mane* above.

e of the second conjugation that is shortened; in either case a short syllable precedes the shortened one, and a long syllable, bearing the metrical *ictus*, follows it. Yet almost all editors have been scandalised at the Terentian so-called licence, even Luc. Mueller refusing to accept the line (*op. cit.*, p. 455). If it be said that the variable quantity of *latebrae* was deliberately created by the dactylic poets as a metrical convenience, it must be admitted that they only exercised that supposed licence under conditions which are always found to be present when Plautus and Terence shorten a long syllable; and it cannot be denied that *lātēbrae* suits dactylic metre as well as *latēbrae*. But further, *vertebra* and *illecebra* have their penultimate naturally short, as appears from their derivations, and yet they are never lengthened, though it might have been convenient for a writer of Sapphics to begin a verse with *illecēbrosas*. Is it a mere coincidence that, in Plautus and Terence, normally short syllables are never, or, at least, only exceptionally, lengthened? It would seem from this that variation in quantity is due, not to poetical licence, but to some deep-seated and permanent principle. The case of *latebrae* does not stand alone. We find, with similarly varying quantity, *cērēbrum* (cf. Gk. *κάπα*), *tenēbrae* (for *temesbrae*), *mulīēbris* (for *muliesbris*), *celēbrare* (for *celebrare*), and many others. Can it be a coincidence that all of these have a short syllable preceding the variable one, and are otherwise capable of satisfying the conditions under which alone syllables can be shortened in comedy? Can it be a coincidence that when a long syllable precedes, as in *fūnēbris*, there is no variation? Again, *Vēlābrum* (from *velare*, the street having once had an awning), *candēlābrum*, and similar words, never vary in quantity, though formed with the same suffix as *latebrae*. The Romance languages bear further witness. French *serment*, for instance, must come from *sācrāmēntum*, not from *sacrāmentum*: contrast

ornement from *ōrnāmentum*, in which the long *a* (as proved by the French medial *e*) was preserved by the preceding long syllable. Fr. *vergogne* represents *vērēcūndia*: contrast *cimetière* from *cōmēterium*.

An important and interesting case of variable quantity occurs in words of the type of *rarefacio*, *liquefacio*. Before Ritschl's time no attempt seems to have been made to reduce to rule their seeming quantitative irregularities, and the history of that great philologist's attempts to find such a rule is instructive. He informs us (*Opuscula* ii., p. 618, *sqq.*) that when he first began his Plautine studies, he met such forms as *cālēfactus*, *commōnēfactus*, *pātēfactus*, etc., and consequently formulated a rule that the stem-vowel of the first element in all such compounds was always short in comedy. When he met *perfrīgēfacit* in Pl. *Pseud.* 1215, he corrected the line, and made the *e* short. At a later time, however, under the pressure of new evidence, he was forced to abandon his first "*Gesetz*," and make a new one. He now said that all words like *cālēfactus* had the *e* always short in comedy, and that all words like *rārēfactus* had the *e* always long. He thereupon cancelled his previous correction of *perfrīgēfacit* in *Pseud.* 12:5, consenting to let it stand as it is in the MSS. But his troubles were not yet over. In Ter. *Phorm.* 284, all MSS. have

ita eūm tum timidum ibi *ōbstūpēscit* pudor,

and in *Most.* 112 he found *pūtrēfacit*, both instances contradicting the revised version of Ritschl's law. He consequently declared that both passages must be corrected. In the Terentian line he put *subito* for *ibi*, and in the Plautine line he changed *pūtrēfacit* to *pūtēfacit*, practically inventing a new compound—a rather summary method of dealing with recalcitrant facts. Ritschl was of course aware that words like *calefactus* very often have the *e* long in

the classical poets, but he attributed that fact to licence. As he says himself, in words like *cālefactus*, "kurzes *e* gesetzlich und ursprünglich war, wie die Komödie lehrt, und nur durch Lizenz dactylischer Dichter ausnahmsweise verlängert," p. 620. It can hardly be said, therefore, that Ritschl's rule is satisfactory: it breaks down, as we have seen, even in comedy, unless recourse be had to correction.

Is it possible to find a satisfactory rule? The indisputable facts are these:—

- i. No words of the type of *rārēfactus*, *cāndēfactus*, etc. are found with short *e*.¹
- ii. Most words of the type of *cālefactus*, *commōnefactus*, etc. have the *e* variable in quantity.
- iii. A few words of the type of *cālefactus* (e.g. *lābefactus*, according to L. Müller) do not seem to be found with long *e*.

From these facts it would seem that we may legitimately and safely infer that the *e* was always long when the preceding syllable was long, always variable in quantity when the preceding syllable was short. The fact that a few words like *lābefactus* have not yet been noticed with the *e* long, does not prove that that quantity never occurred, and we may lawfully suppose that they followed the analogy of *cālēfctus*, etc.

Thus the evidence of this interesting class of words tends in the same direction as the evidence of those other classes of words already examined. The fixed quantity of *expērgēfctus* is analogous to the fixed quantity of *candēlābrdrum*, and the mutable quantity of *cālēfactus* is analogous to the mutable quantity of *lātēbrosus*; and when to *cālēfāctus* and *lātēbrōsus* we add *ēgo ēxclū|dor* and *vērēbā|mini* from Terence,

¹ Lewis and Short are wrong in the quantities assigned by them to *candē-* *facio*, *perfrige**facio*, as in so many other cases.

we must surely suspect that there resides in a preceding short syllable, in cooperation with accent, some magic power whose influence is not restricted to any particular period, or to any particular literary form.

Seeking further evidence, we find another well-known case of variable quantity in the terminations *-ērīs*, *-ērīmus*, *-ērītis*.¹ Here again we find a short syllable before the variable one, and it is clear the *i* cannot be shortened in dactylic or logaëdic verse, unless the succeeding syllable be long, and bear the metrical ictus; e.g. *egērīmūs nosti* (Verg. *A.* vi. 514), or *rexērīs imperio*. The *i* is normally long, *rexerīs* being for *rexeriēs*, cf. *siēs* (= Gk. *ἰ[σ]ίης*), the older form of *sīs*. *Pōssīmus*, *mālīmus*, *nōlīmus*, though formed with precisely the same suffix, never shorten the *i*, being preserved against variation by their initial long syllable. *Vēlīmus* may perhaps be found with short *i* in comedy, but does not seem to be so found in classical verse: the analogy of *malīmus* and *nolīmus*, which could not vary, would tend to fix *velīmus* in its long quantity.

Again, the same instability of a normally long *i* is found in *fortūītus* and *gratūītus*. Here also the analogy of this case of variable quantity with those already examined is complete. It is interesting to observe, however, that in this case a refuge has sometimes been sought in the supposition of a very improbable synizesis. E.g. in the verse

Non quasi *fortūītūs* nec ventorum rabie, set.

JUV. xiii. 225.

¹ Attempts have been made to account for the variable quantity of the *i* in *amaverīmus*, etc., by distinguishing between its use as completed future and perfect subjunctive, and supposing that the two tenses had become confused. Thus Mr. Roby, in his *School*

Latin Grammar, marks the *i* short in the completed future, but long in the perfect subjunctive. The evidence, both of the poets and of philology, is against any such distinction. The theory seems to be based on the assumption that the termination *-erīmus* of th

Mayor, in his note, says "possibly trisyllabic." There is no such way of escape, however, in the following hendecasyllabic verse:—

Lārgis grdtūitūm cadit rapīnis.

STAT. *Silv.* i. 6. 16.

Again, we find in Vergil *stētērūntque comae*, and in Lucretius such verses as—

Et primae dēdērūnt solacia dulcia vitae

vi. 4;—

and in this case, too, it is obvious that such correption can only occur in dactylic verse under the same conditions which we have observed in other cases. It is also clear, as Munro points out on Lucretius i. 406, that *dēdērunt* is not due to metrical necessity. The forms *stētērē*, *dēdērē*, etc., are never shortened; and it can scarcely be a coincidence that, in spoken Latin, it was impossible for their normally long *e* to be followed by a long accented syllable. Unlike *dederunt*, *dēdere* has its accent practically fixed: it was possible to say *dēdērūntne*, but not *dederēne*.

There are, of course, some apparent exceptions. For instance, *lūgūbris* seems to have variable quantity in a syllable preceded by a long one. But this is only an apparent exception, for the variable vowel does not seem to be normally and originally long. Where that is the case, as in *fūnēbris*, the long quantity remains. Cases of common quantity in words like *lūdībrīum*, *pūtris*, *nīgrum*, etc., in which the common vowel is normally short, should be carefully distinguished from those cases which we have been considering, in which the variable vowel is normally

complete future has some connexion with *erimus*, the future of *sum*; but no such connexion exists. *Erimus* (= *esōmos*) = Gk. ἔμεν (= *esōmen*), and

the *i* is a thematic vowel; but the *i* of *amaverimus* is identical with the *iē* of the Greek Optative. See Monro, *Hdm. Gr.*, § 80.

long. The second syllable of *ludibrium* is truly common, because the poet could make it long or short at will, without reference to any accentual law. The lengthening of such syllables was a true poetical licence, an artificial device borrowed from the Greek epic, lyric, and tragic poets, but foreign to both spoken languages, as is proved by the fact that it was never used in either Greek or Latin comedy. It was even forbidden in Roman tragedy.

Again, *sālūtare*, *sālūbris*,¹ *vālētudo*, and some other words, seem not to vary in spite of their initial short syllables; but it is not certain that they never did so. On this point it may be said, as L. Müller says on another point, *Quaedam propter inopiam scriptorum minus gnara nobis*. Words like *valetudo* are naturally rarely found in verse, and to affirm that they were never pronounced with their second syllables short, is to affirm too much.

Another apparent exception occurs when a word like *emerunt* ends an iambic line in comedy. This seems to occur only three times altogether (see *Wagner* on *Ter. Eun.* 20). This is a real difficulty, and I am unable satisfactorily to explain it. But, in view of the rather numerous instances in which *frustra sis*, or the like, occurs at the end of an iambic line (where the apparent shortening of the *a* is equally irregular and equally inexplicable), is it absolutely certain—though I hardly dare to suggest such a heresy—that an irrational iambus was not very occasionally allowed to take the place of the pure iambus regularly required in the sixth foot? *Verterunt*, however, occurs in *Hor. Epod.* ix. 17, in the fourth foot of an iambic.

A very interesting case of apparent exception to the operation of the principle which I am seeking to establish is met with in words like *bene*, *male*, *ita*, *ego*, *quia*. If the principle of variable quantity is sound, it would seem that

¹The spelling *valitudo*, however, indicates that the *e* was shortened. Cf. *puḍibundus* for *puḍebundus*.

their final syllables, instead of being always short, ought to have variable quantity, just as *nihĩl*, *mădă*, *vălă*, *căvă*, *mihĩ*, have variable quantity. For it must not be lost sight of that, in comedy, words like *măne*, *ăbi*, *vălo*, *păta* are not *always* pyrrhics. They became pyrrhics under certain definite and ascertainable conditions; but, when those conditions are removed, they resume their natural and original metrical value as surely and inevitably as a spring resumes its natural shape when released from pressure. Thus, in the verse quoted above, *măně mă|ně*, *Chă|rĩne*, etc., *mane* has its *e* short in the first foot because, under the conditions, it could not be anything else; and long in the second foot, for the same reason. Strictly speaking, we can hardly even say that in comedy the *e* of *mane* is *common*; for it was not in the poet's power to make it long or short at will, but he instinctively, and automatically, as it were, obeyed a rhythmical law as binding as the law of gravitation itself,—a law which was obeyed by the little Roman child as surely and faultlessly as by the experienced poet. Why then do *bene*, *male*, *ita*, etc., never seem to revert to their original quantity? Why should these words have lost their spring, as it were, while *nihĩl*, *mihĩ*, etc., did not? But is it quite certain that the fact is as assumed? There is at least evidence tending to show that the final syllables of *bene*, *male*, *ita*, etc., were not always short, but as truly variable as the final syllables of *libĩ*, *vălă*, etc.

There can be no doubt as to the original long quantity of the final syllables of the words in question. It is known in the case of *bene* and *male* from the analogy of other adverbs in *e*; in the case of *ita* and *quia*, from the analogy of *contră*, etc.; in the case of *ego*, from the Gk. *ἐγώ*. Moreover, if the final *a* of *ita* had been originally short, the classical form of the word must have been *itē*: cf. *indē*

= Gk. ἔνθα. Taking first the case of *bene* and *male*, it is well-known that lines of Plautus containing compounds of those words present metrical difficulties. Ritschl attempted to get rid of them by introducing such forms as *beneficium*, *malefacta*, etc. But that device will not always get rid of them. If we take a verse like

Em méa malefacta, ém meam avaritiám tibi

PLAUTUS, *Trin.* 185

nothing will get rid of the hiatus after *malefacta*, but either the “*Einsetzung eines Flickwortes*,” as Brix expresses it, or the lengthening of the *e* of *mälēfacta*. Brix suggests that perhaps the comma would justify hiatus; yet six verses further on we have elision taking place after a full stop and a change of speakers.¹ Passing to the case of *ita*, C. F. W. Müller collects more than twenty instances in which the MSS. of Plautus require its last syllable to be long (*Plaut. Pros.* p. 14). I select a single verse:

Amphítruo, itā mihi ánimus etiam núnc abest,—agedum éxpedi.

ID. *Am.* 1081.

Müller, holding that *ita* must always be a pyrrhic, would correct this verse by putting *Ere Amphitruo*: but surely such a correction is not very convincing? Besides, there are more than twenty other places in Plautus waiting to be corrected, if *itā* is to be got rid of. *Ita* seems to have long *a* also in the epitaph on Naevius, written in Saturnians:—

itā́que póstquam est Órci tráditús thesaúro,
oblíti súnť Romáſ loquíér linguá latína.

¹ Cf. v. 1130 of the same play (a trochaic septenarius): nám beneficium hómini proprium quód datur prorsúm

perit,—where a similar difficulty occurs, avoided by Niemeyer by the unconvincing insertion of *omne* after *beneficium*.

Ego also very often appears in the MSS. with a long final. For example:—

nam quóm pugnant máxume, egō fugiebam máxume.

PL. *Am.* 199.

This is the reading of the best MSS., but in B (cod. vet. Cam.) a later hand has placed *tum* after *ego* as an inter-linear correction, and editors generally accept this, ignoring the probability that this *tum* is the insertion of a mediæval reader who, having some knowledge of prosody according to Ovid and Vergil, was trying to mend what he naturally looked upon as a *versum claudicantem*. In two other verses of the same play, 598, 601, the MSS give *egō*; but these also are generally corrected, together with a large number of similar lines in other plays. What has happened in the case of *ita*, *ego*, *bene*, etc., can be well illustrated by the case of *modo* (adv.). Those who refuse to admit *ēgō*, *ītā*, *bēnē*, etc., unhesitatingly admit *mōdō* in comedy. Why? Like *ego*, it is said always to have a short final in the Augustan poets,¹ but it occurs twice with a long final in Lucretius. According to Lachmann on Lucr. ii. 1135, *modō* occurs only *five* times outside the comedians,—twice in Lucretius (ii. 1135; iv. 1181), twice in the fragments of Lucilius (xiii. 15; xxvii. 34, Müller), once in a fragment of Cicero's *Aratea*. Now suppose that the works of Lucretius had been lost, and that the fragments of Cicero and

¹ It seems probable that *modō* originally occurred in Hor. Ep. ii. 199, where the best MSS. have *Pauperies immunda domus procul absit*; *ego utrum Nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem*. Bentley pointed out the want of agreement between *domus* and *nave*, and Meineke approved the conjecture *modo*,—the only probable conjecture, *modo* = *domo* = *domus*, a development due either to design or to

accident. L. Müller puts *tamen* for *domus*. A copyist with a moderate knowledge of prosody would almost certainly have corrected *modō*. Moreover, *modo* and *domo* are constantly confused, even in the best MSS., e.g. in Pl. *Stich.* 623, the Ambrosian gives *DOMO* for *modo*, while in Cic. *Fam.* ii. 16. 4, M and G have *modesticis* for *domesticis*.

Lucilius had not been accidentally preserved: what would have been said as to the quantity of *modo*? Would it not have been said that the final of *modo* was short, and short only, and would not those places in comedy where the long final occurs have been 'corrected'?

Just as the attempt is made in the case of *bene*, *ita*, etc., to make absolute the rule that their finals are short,—to pin them down, as it were, to one quantity,—so in the case of one or two other originally and normally iambic words the attempt is made to confine them to *long* quantity in their finals. For example, just as we are told that *ita* must always have short *a*, so we are told that *ŭti* must always have long *i*; though the enforcing of the rule involves somewhat violent proceedings (see L. Müller, *op. cit.* p. 410).

Further evidence tending to show that all words of original iambic value had variable quantity in all periods may be found in the remarkable fact that those of them that show exclusively short finals in classical poets again appear with long finals in the post-classical age. L. Müller, *op. cit.* p. 411, remarks: 'Iam hoc memorandum, auctores christianos relapsos, ut plerumque, ad imitationem antiquissimorum ex vocibus, quae breviari solent extra scaenam, in *a*, *o*, *i* exeuntes ambigua rursus adhibuisse quantitate.' L. Müller's opinion, of course, carries very great weight; but it seems strange that Christian poets, whose studies one would have expected to lie in quite another direction, should have turned to the comedies of Plautus and Terence in order to introduce their metrical peculiarities into poems on sacred subjects. The Christian poets, of all men, should have been free from archaistic affectations. Moreover, the poets who seem specially uncultured, and therefore specially incapable of direct imitation, seem to fall into the most startling imitations of Plautine 'licence.' For example, a certain '*poeta*

vulgaris prioris saeculi iii,' Müller, p. 422, writes the following hendecasyllabic line:—

pūlcrum quōd *vidēs* ēsse nōstrum régem.

Quite another explanation of this phenomenon is possible, namely, that the return of the very late poets to the earliest manner was involuntary. Those whom we call the classical poets, those *docti poetae*, with their eyes turned ever towards Alexandria and Greece, succeeded for a time in partially disguising the native character of the Latin language. They made a careful selection among its possibilities, their guiding principle in the selection being aesthetic. Whatever did not sound too inharmoniously in ears trained to fastidiousness by exercise in the ideally beautiful rhythms of the Greeks, that they admitted into their verse: whatever offended those ears, as harsh or never so little *φορτικόν καὶ βωμολόχον*, they avoided. It was a noble transformation, yet a real one, produced not so much by the importation of exotic beauties into the language, as by the omission of its more homely features. Among all peoples who have produced great literatures there is a certain line of demarcation between the literary language and that of everyday life. In ancient Rome that line was drawn with unusual sharpness, because of the foreign origin of the material, and the inspiration, and the literary forms of Roman poetry. Roman poets looked to Greece, and after an apprenticeship that made them *docti*, they were qualified to play their part in keeping up the disguise. But the classical age passed away, and the native and indestructible character of the Latin language reasserted itself. As learning decayed, it became harder and harder to keep up the disguise; and in late imperial times we have presented to us the remarkable phenomenon of an apparent return to the manner of the earliest age. If

that was due to deliberate imitation, it is strange that it should sometimes peep out in those who were struggling hardest to continue the classical tradition. For instance, Claudian, who, with his contemporary Namatianus, is conspicuous in the early fifth century for his effort, and his successful effort, to keep the torch still burning, even Claudian cannot avoid such slips as

Non tamen hoc tardata Ceres. accenditur ultro
relligione loci vibratque infesta securim
ipsum etiam *fērītūra* Iovem.

De Rapt. Pros. iii. 357 sqq.

Here *fērītūra* suffers precisely what *vērēbāmini* suffers in the verse of Terence; and surely, in so elegant a poet the slip was unintentional. Such accidents are almost pathetic—ominous of the coming end. But although during the classical period the native and unsophisticated Roman speech seems, so far as literature is concerned, to have been dumb, yet it is not entirely so. The stream that for so long ran underground sometimes emerges. It does so, for instance, in Cicero's letters. It has been often pointed out that Cicero's language in the letters approximates to that of comedy. How much the popular language was dressed up even in the letters we cannot, of course, say; but that it was so to some extent we may infer from the fact that different degrees of approximation may be detected in different letters. For instance, in the well-known letter written on the morrow of great Caesar's visit (Att. xiii. 52), Cicero seems more colloquial than in his equally well-known appeal to Luceius (Fam. v. 12) to write a history of his consulship; and perhaps if we could have been

¹ In this passage *feritura* has given offence to editors from the earliest times: see Birt's *Claudian*, p. 390. Birt proposes *feriatne*, though he ac-

knowledges that *feritura* is also found in Maximian, *Elegies*, 5. 97 (Baehrens, *PLM*, vol. v, p. 345): Quo tibi fervor abit per quem *feritura* placebas.

present when, *inter scyphos* and *bene potus* (Fam. vii. 22), the great man disputed with Trebatius on the law of Inheritances, the resemblance to Plautine language might have been still more remarkable. Idioms that are in literary disfavour do not die, and when they appear again in literature their reappearance is not always due to imitation. Mr. Kipling writes, in a poem called '*Fuzzy-wuzzy*,' 'Some of 'em was brave and some was not.' Now, 'em' for *hem*, the true dative plural of *he* (while *them* is the dative plural of the article, Germ. *den*) is the form used by Chaucer; yet Mr. Kipling was not imitating Chaucer. It may be, then, that those characteristics of early Latin which reappear in late imperial times had never really ceased to exist, even if they had ceased to be generally used in polite literature, for reasons which we can often see, but which we sometimes cannot see. It may be that, in spite of scrupulous care, the spoken language often makes its influence felt in the most polished poets. What else can explain, for instance, such a line as this from Horace ?—

regis opus, sterilisve diu *pālūs* āptaque remis.

(A. P. 65).

The shortening of the final syllable of *pālūs* has been regarded as an unparalleled licence; but it is accompanied by those conditions—a preceding short syllable and a following long syllable, bearing the metrical ictus,—which, as I have tried to show, are followed by the same result in so many other instances. Can it be a mere coincidence that *pālūs* is a word of the same rhythm as *nihīl*, *mōuō*, *pūtā*, and so many others? All the evidence seems to point to the fact that among those characteristics of Plautine Latin which may be supposed to have existed continuously in the spoken language, even when they

never, or very rarely, appear in the literary language, was a power possessed by all words of original iambic rhythm of oscillating between long and short quantity in their final syllables. Our traditional prosody, derived by a purely empirical process from the practice of the Augustan poets, strives to maintain such doctrines as that *ŭti* always had its second syllable long, but *ŭtique* always had it short; that *ŭbi* had its second syllable common, but *ŭbique* always had it long; that *mōdō* had its second syllable common (except in the Augustan poets), but that *ēgō* always had it short; and in order to defend such doctrines, passages in the MSS. of Plautus and Terence, and even of the classics, are corrected by the score! Are we not justified in inferring, from a review of all the undisputed facts concerning words of that type, that all originally iambic words without exception—*pālūs*, for instance, equally with *nīhīl* and *itā*—were capable of oscillating between long and short quantity in the spoken language, but that the classical poets sometimes preferred the one quantity to the other, and used it almost, or quite, exclusively? We must, of course, imitate the prevailing *practice* of the classical poets in writing Latin verses ourselves; but prosodiacal rules founded upon that practice are not applicable to the language in its entire history. Even in the spoken language, doubtless, some iambic words were used preponderantly with one of the two possible quantities. Thus *ego*, while retaining the power to revert to its original iambic value, as, according to L. Müller (p. 412), is expressly testified by Auct. ad Caelestinum, *Gr. Lat.* iv. 232, might, perhaps, have been more often used with short final, on account of the accident that the Latin for ‘you and I’ was *ēgō tūque*, not *tu egōque*.¹

¹ L. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 409, attributes the frequent appearance of short finals in words of original iambic rhythm to the fact that iambic words were more often used than other words, and so, *assuetudine quotidiani usus*

A real instance of permanently lost quantity occurs in such words as *mōnīmētum* for *mōnēmentum*, and *pūdībūndus* for *pūdēbūndus*. Contrast *cōmplēmētum* and *errābūndus*. The reason for the permanent loss of quantity is obvious: it was impossible for the verbal accent to fall on the second syllable in those words, as it could, *e.g.* in *lātēbrae*. Another instance is *dōcūmētum*, and there are many more. The spelling of *monimentum* with short *i* (or *u*) is the sign and mark of its permanently lost quantity: contrast *mērētrix*. The fluctuation between *e* and *i* in the MS. spelling of *beneficium*, *valetudo*, and other similar words, may be due to the original fluctuation in the quantity of their second syllables.

From the facts here adduced, seeking to explain why it is that all oscillations between long and short quantity in syllables of original and normal long quantity seem to be preceded by a short syllable, and accompanied by similar accentual conditions, I venture provisionally—pending the production of further evidence, or a different interpretation of that here collected, by scholars more competent and experienced than myself—to put forward the following theory:—

i. *In the spoken Latin of all periods every long syllable preceded by a short one became itself short if the verbal accent fell immediately before or immediately after it; but, in the latter case, only on condition that the syllable on which the accent fell was long.*¹ *When those conditions (or either of them) were removed, the affected syllable necessarily regained its temporarily lost quantity. It follows from this rule, as a*

detritae quasi fuere et concisae. But it is hard to understand *why* an iambic word should be more often used than, say, a spondaic word—why, for instance, *mōdo* should have been more often used than *immo*, or *prōbe* than

sāne, or *vōlo* than *mālo*.

¹ It would seem, from the treatment of the proceleusmatic in comedy, that it was not absolutely necessary for the following accented syllable to be long, though it nearly always is so in verse.

corollary, that all normally iambic words had common quantity in their final syllables.

ii. *The same law prevailed in all verse at all periods ; but in verse metrical ictus took the place of, and temporarily suspended, verbal accent.*

iii. *The comedians availed themselves of this law to the fullest possible extent, the classical poets only sparingly ; that is to say, only when the syllable to be shortened was not consonantly long (or heavy), and not always even when it was long by the original nature of its vowel only.*

iv. *Almost all instances of so-called common quantity in Latin, whether occurring in comedy or in the classical poets, are to be explained by the operation of this law, provided always that they occur in syllables normally and originally long. Common quantity in vowels normally and originally short, foreign to the spoken language and to comedy, was a technical elocutionary device.*

v. *Instances of exceptional, and apparently irregular, shortening of long syllables in classical verse are, if short syllables precede the shortened ones, due to the operation of the same law.*

Examples will be found in almost every line of Plautus and Terence, and in the words and passages from classical Latin quoted above.

I add the following, placing them side by side, and repeating one or two lines already quoted, for the sake of ready comparison :—

Vade vālē cāvē nē titubes mandataque frangas.

HOR. *Ep.*, i. 13. 19.

Virtutem verba putas et
lucum ligna : cāvē ne portus occupet alter.

HOR. *Ep.*, i. 6. 32.

Delōs *ābī* nunc, Phoebe, tuast ? *ābī* Delphica Python ?

TIB. II. 3. 27.

Cf.

Mānē mānē Charine.—Gerrae ! sic me decipere hānd potes.

PL. *Merc.*, 928.

Ego ut contendere durumst
cum victore, sequor. 'Maecenas *quomōdō* tēcum ?

HOR. *Sat.*, i. 9. 43.

Qui sudor *vīlīs* et quam malus undique membris 'crescit odor.

ID. *Epod.*, 13. 7.

Contrast

Nec supera caput eiusdem cecidissē *vīlīam* | vestem.

LUCR. iii. 385.

Regis opus, sterilisve diu *pālūs* āptaque remis.

HOR. *A.P.*, 65.

'Et quid agam ?'—*rōgās* ? én, sāperdas advehe Ponto.¹

PERS. v. 134.

Deinde *zō* dōrmitum, non sollicitus, mihi quod cras.

ID. *Sat.*, i. 6. 119.

Dixērō quīd, si forte iocosius ; hoc mihi iuris.

ID. *Sat.*, i. 4. 104.

Obsēcrō et ōbtestor, vitae me redde priori !

ID. *Epist.*, i. 7. 95.

[The elision, or rather synaloepha, of the final of *obsēcrō* in short *et* would be impossible unless that final were shortened : see L. Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 327 *sqq.*, and cf.—

Nesciō sed fieri *seniō* et ēxcrucior.

CAT. 85. 2.

¹ This verse, an excellent example, has, like many of the others here quoted, severely exercised the critics. For instance, Jahn, reading, with the

codd. dett., et quid agam ? rogitas ? en, sāperdam advehe Ponto, writes the following critical note : Quod dedi metro et sensui convenit, et si totam

Namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam
nunſiō et in tutum versis Aquilonibus actam.

VERG. *A.* i. 390-1.]

Quam paene furvae regnā *Prōserpinae*.

HOR. *C.*, ii. 13. 21.

Contrast

Sæva capūt *Prōserpina* fūgit.

Id. *C.*, i. 28. 20.

Agite ite ad alta Gállae, *Cybēlēs* nemora simul.

CAT. 63. 12.

Contrast

Typanum tubam *Cybēlēs* tua máter initia.

Id. *Ib.* 9.,

and cf.

Sūpēllēctile opus est: ópus est sumptu ad nūptias.

TER. *Phorm.* 666.

Nam únguentúm *dābō* quód meaé puéllae.

CAT. 13. 11.

Húnc unum éxcipio, út *pūſō*, pudenter.

Id. 15. 13.

Díc nobís. *vōſō* té ac tuós amóres.

Id. 6. 16.

Altā *tēpēfaciet* permixta flumine caede.

Id. 64. 360.

Frigida deserto *tēpēfcit* membra cubili.

Id. 68. 29.

Ní te plús oculís meís Horáti

Plús iam *dilligō*, tū tuum sodálem.

MAECENAS.

variarum lectionum farraginem consideres a codicibus optime munitum est. Saperdas scriptum videtur ab eo qui singulari numero offende-batur, eadem-que lectio aliis labantem versum fulcire

visa est. Nam rogas negligentiae tantum vitium esse videtur, et metrum corrumpit quod aliquo modo varie sustentare conati sunt. Cf. also Mr. G. R. Scott in *Class. Review*, iv. 1890.

Istos *commōdā*: nām volo ad Serapim
Deferri. *Mānē* mē inquit puellae.

CAT. 10. 26. 27.

Virginēs nām sibi quisque domi Romanus habet sas.

ENN. *Ann.* 102 M.

Clūtēmēstra iuxtim, tērtias natae occupant.

LIV. *ANDRON. Trag.* 11.

Vindicem adulterii cum *Clūtēmēstra* necet.

AUSON. *Epitaphia Heroum*, i. 4.

That some common principle underlies such instances of deviation from normal prosody seems evident. As our texts originally stood, there were probably more of them; for it is the natural tendency of editors, whether ancient or modern, to eliminate them. For instance, L. Müller remarks in the *index gram. et metric.* to his text of Horace (Teubner), under the heading of *nihil*: "nil promiscue reponendum apud Hor." It is a significant fact that where metrically irregular lines occur, it is usually the best MSS. which record them, while the inferior MSS. often have readings in which the metre has been more or less mended at the expense of the sense: for a striking example see Persius v. 134.

Müller's list of words occurring in Horace with final *o* shortened is interesting and significant: *mentīō*, *Polīō*, *dix-ērō*, *ēō* (verb), *nescīō*, *obsēcō*, *rōgō*, *sciō*, *vētō*, *quomōdō*. It thus appears that Horace never once shortens final *o* unless a *short syllable precedes*: can that possibly be a coincidence?

It will at once be seen that the rules formulated above are by no means entirely novel. They consist of a re-statement, with modifications and with a very much widened application, of the accentual law, sometimes called the 'Law of Breves Breviantes,' which, since

Bentley's time, has been called in to explain many Plautine and Terentian deviations from classical prosody.¹ But it does not seem to have been hitherto attempted to explain by it the phenomenon of variable or common quantity generally, and also those occasional deviations from normally long quantity met with in classical texts. Even in comedy many editors seem to admit the operation of this law with reluctance, and only when other devices for the solution of metrical difficulties—such as synizesis and syncope—have failed. For example, in Pl. *Trin.* 835, an anapæstic tetrameter ends with *turbīnes venti*, and Brix, who is conspicuous for the prominence which he gives to the accentual law in explaining comic prosody, admits the shortening of the final syllable of *turbīnes* (though his note, "*turbīnēs* scheint durchs Metrum entschuldigt," seems to indicate doubt); but in ver. 838, only three lines lower, when *otio* is found occupying the place of an anapæst, he unhesitatingly declares that synizesis takes place (see note on ver. 821). If the *-ēs* of *turbīnes*, long both by nature and by position, can be shortened, why may not the same thing happen to the final of *otio*, long by nature only? The resulting consecution of dactyl and anapæst, *ōtīō | dārē mē* is, of course, quite permissible in anapæstic verse. It would be rash, no doubt, to decide that *otio* was *not* pronounced with synizesis; but is it sound reasoning to decide positively that it *was* so pronounced? The accentual law is capable of explaining almost every difficulty in comic prosody, and if the principle formulated above is sound, it explains many difficulties in classic prosody also.

¹ A very clear and compact statement of the law, as restricted to comic prosody, may be found in Brix, Pl. *Trin.* Einleit. s. 16, with which the only fault to be found is that in it verbal accent and metrical ictus are not

kept quite distinct. The law is also stated—but somewhat vaguely, and with much restricted application,—by Mr. W. M. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, ch. iii., § 34; cf. also ch. iii., § 42.

It may seem bold to affirm that *all* long syllables preceded by a short syllable could be shortened in spoken Latin under certain conditions, but is it possible to draw with any certainty a line between those which could and those which could not be shortened? On what principle are we to draw such a line? If, confining ourselves to the empirical method, we tabulate and classify all the instances of accentual shortening occurring in the extant comedies, is it sound reasoning to lay down the rule that the phenomenon was necessarily confined to those particular instances? Any result obtained by a purely empirical process is necessarily unsatisfying, and, in the case of Latin prosody, owing to the scantiness of the extant remains, such a result is likely to be misleading. For instance, our knowledge of the fact, that the stem-vowel of the second conjugation could be shortened seems to rest upon a single instance in Ter. *Phor.* 902, a reading fortunately supported by the best MSS., and confirmed by one or two other isolated fragments of evidence; but that line might conceivably never have been written, or might have been lost. If, then, there are particular instances of accentual shortening which occur only once or twice, may there not be others which were possible, but which do not happen to occur at all in the extant remains? I would suggest, then, that we are justified in advancing beyond the empirical method, and seeking to establish some inductive generalization — guarding with all care, of course, against basing the generalization on insufficient or erroneous data.

As for the physiological principle which may be supposed to underlie the law formulated above, that lies within the domain of the professed phonetician. I would suggest that perhaps what physicists call *inertia* may have something to do with it. When uttering a short syllable, the voice may be compared to a man running; when

uttering a long one, it may be compared to a man walking. To require the voice, therefore, to pass from short to long time immediately before or after the effort of the accent, is something like requiring a runner to greatly check his speed immediately before or after taking a hurdle. Both can be done, of course, but only with an effort; and that effort is likely to be avoided in everyday conversation. It would seem, also, that accented syllables when short have both higher tone and stronger stress than accented long syllables: for example, in English, 'not' seems to have higher tone and stronger stress than 'node.' That would still further increase the tendency to accentual shortening in those cases where the stress falls on the preceding short syllable.

As for the spoken language, I suppose the poet to have heard on all sides of him such pronunciation as this: *sz pervenērīmus vidērīmūsque amicos summam inde capiemus vōlūptātem; nam non est maior illa volūptas.—Commōdā libēllos nobis.—Libēllōsne mē rōgās?—Commōdā nōbis, inquam, libēllos.—Sed subitō cōnsule dicente fit clamor quidam fortūītus.—Itāne vero? fortūītūsne fuit iste clamor? ratīō tē fugit.* The first of these variations of quantity, *-erīmus*, he admitted to his verse when the conditions allowed, because it was not inharmonious: the second, *ūptas*, he rejected: the comedians, less fastidious, but more consistent, admitted both. It may be thought that this rapid alternation must have been very bewildering, and have tended to obscure the normal quantity of syllables; but in modern Italian, there is an analogous, and equally rapid, alternation between the two possible *qualities* of the vowels *e* and *o*. For instance, in *prego* (= late Lat. *prēco*) the *e* is open (*aperta*), in *pregava* (imperfect, with the accent on the second syllable) the *e* is close (*stretta*); and this alternation of quality, as it may be called, is observed

throughout the language. Yet no Italian forgets the original and normal quality of *e* or *o* in any word, answering instantly, for example, that the *e* in *prego* is 'aperta,' the *e* in *vedo*, 'stretta.'

To come back to the two verses of Catullus from which this discussion started, it would seem that in them, too, we have an example of the working of the same accentual law. If that is so, then Professor Palmer, with his sound judgment as to what was and what was not corrigible, rightly retained these lines just as they stand, and assigned the right reason for their seeming metrical irregularity—two echoes sounding to us still in Catullus' verses, caught up by him from that impetuous stream of old Roman speech which is now for ever silent.

CHARLES EXON.

TABLE OF WORDS OF ANALOGOUS FORMATION, BUT SHOWING DIFFERENT QUANTITY IN CORRESPONDING SYLLABLES ACCORDING AS THEY ARE PRECEDED BY A SHORT OR A LONG SYLLABLE.

SHORT SYLLABLE PRECEDING.	LONG SYLLABLE PRECEDING.
cĕrĕbrum, <i>cf.</i> κῆρα.	vĕlābrum (<i>from</i> vĕlāre).
lātĕbrae, <i>from</i> latĕre.	cribrum (<i>cf.</i> κρίνον).
tĕnĕbrae, <i>for</i> temesbrae.	candĕlābrum.
mĕrĕtrix.	vĕnātrix.
mulĕbris.	fūnĕbris.
fortūitus.	cĕrritus.
gratūitus.	aūrītus.
tĕpĕfactus.	rārĕfactus.
pātĕfactus.	cāndĕfactus.
liquĕfactus.	ārĕfactus.
commōnĕfactus.	expĕrgĕfactus.
pūtrĕfactus.	confĕrvĕfactus.
viĕtus (viĕtus Hor. Epod. 12. 7.	dĕlētus.
dĕdĕrunt, stĕtĕrunt, and many more.	mānsĕrunt.

TABLE OF WORDS OF ANALOGOUS FORMATION—*continued*.

SHORT SYLLABLE PRECEDING.	LONG SYLLABLE PRECEDING.
<p> mōnīmentum } long quantity perma- dōcūmentum } nently lost. pūdībundus } amavēris. vidērīmus. rexērīmus, and all such forms. mōdō. bēnē (bēnē ?). mālē (mālē ?). prōbē. ībī, ūbī, etc. mīhī, tībī, sībī. vōlō. dābō. mānē (<i>verb, imperat.</i>). ēō (<i>verb, Horace</i>). pūtā. nīsī (nīsī). dūō (dūō ?). cītō (cītō). pālūs (<i>Horace, A. P., 65</i>). ītā (ītā in comedy). quīā (quīā ?). </p>	<p> testāmentum. vēlāmentum. ērrābundus. pōssis. nōlimus. mālimus. immō. vāldē. pūrē. sānē. īllī (<i>adv.</i>). īllī (<i>dat. pron.</i>). nōlō. stābō. rīdē. fīō. vītā (<i>verb, imperat.</i>). sī. āmbō. crēbrō. īncūs. cōntrā. ēxtrā. </p>

REVIEWS.

The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene. Translated into English by F. J. HAMILTON, D.D., and E. W. BROOKS, M.A. (Byzantine Texts, Methuen & Co., 1899).

Notice d'un Manuscrit de l'Histoire de Michel le Grand. By F. NAU, in *Journal Asiatique*, tome 8 (*Nouvelles et Mélanges*, Nov.-Dec. 1896).

Note sur l'Époque à laquelle écrivait l'Historien Zacharie. By F. NAU, in *Journal Asiatique*, tome 9 (*Nouvelles et Mélanges*, Mai et Juin 1897).

DR. BURY has been well advised in adding this *Syriac Chronicle* to his series of "Byzantine Texts." And the translators, Dr. Hamilton and Mr. Brooks, have done their work accurately, and with a thoroughness extending even to a (much needed) revision of the Syriac text as printed. In their footnotes are to be found many emendations, some derived from reinspection of the MS. (Brit. Mus., Add. 17202) on which that text rests; some conjectural—all deserving to be welcomed by students of the original.

In his Introduction, Mr. Brooks has given a full summary of what is known or surmised about the formation and date of this *Chronicle*, and about the author of its central document by whose name the whole is usually designated. He has also collected and incorporated such fragments of it as are recoverable from other annals, to supply, as far as may be, the portions lacking in the MS., which is, unfortunately, seriously mutilated in its latter parts.

The MS. is, however, complete in its most important portion; and it is not the least valuable to the student of the Eastern Church and Empire, among the many precious remains of long-buried literature in Syriac dress, that have been within the last fifty or sixty years unearthed from the cellars of the "Monastery of the Syrians" in the Nitrian Desert of Egypt. The historical work which it contains is, as a whole, anonymous. It was printed by Dr. Land of Utrecht in 1870 (vol. iii. of his *Anecdota Syriaca*), but without any accompanying translation. Its first appearance in any modern language was in a small volume, printed privately by Dr. Hamilton

in 1892,¹ containing the four most important (iii.-vi.) of its twelve Books in English, with a brief but valuable Introduction. The volume now before us embodies that earlier translation, and completes it by adding a version of the foregoing and following books (omitting only some non-historical portions)—part of which is also due to Dr. Hamilton, but the greater part to Mr. Brooks. A German translation has lately been published, the work of K. Ahrens and G. Krüger. A review of it by Mr. Brooks appears in the July issue of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, which is valuable especially as containing a list of corrected readings, supplementary to those appended to the English version.

Before the discovery of the Nitrian ms., however, a series of extracts from this work was found by J. S. Assemani in a Vatican ms., and described by him in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (tom. ii., p. 54) in 1721; and in 1838 Cardinal Mai printed them in full, with a Latin version, in his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* (tom. x.). Both these editors ascribed it, though without authority from their ms., to Zacharias, surnamed the Rhetorician, whom they described as Bishop of Melitene (in Armenia), and supposed to be a Syriac author.

The name and designation of this writer had long been known to the readers of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius, who (writing A.D. 594) repeatedly cites—though often with censure—the statements of Ζαχαρίας ὁ Ρήτωρ concerning events of the reign of Marcian and the Emperors who followed him, from the time of the Council of Chalcedon (453) to the latter days of the Emperor Zeno, who died in 491. This long-lost work Assemani and Mai naturally concluded that they had recovered, in great measure, in their Vatican collection of extracts. A question had been previously raised, whether this Zacharias Rhetor was identical with the Ζαχαρίας Σχολαστικός, described as “afterwards Bishop of Mitylene” (in Lesbos), who is author of the (Greek) *Disputation with Ammonius*, entitled *Περὶ τῆς Κοσμοποιίας*, first edited by Barth (1619), included in Gallandi's *Veterum Patrum Bibliotheca* (1776), and other Patristic Collections. Cave (*Historia Litteraria*), writing in 1688, seems to have been the first to lay down that these two descriptions denoted two different persons: the former of whom he assigns to 491 (the last year of Zeno) on the evidence of the citations in Evagrius; the latter to 536, in which year Zacharias, Bishop of Mitylene, is recorded as present at the Synod held by Mennas in Constantinople. This conclusion, though questioned by J. A. Fabricius in 1719 (in *Bibliotheca Græca*, t. ix., p. 355),² and afterwards by Mai (*ut supr.*),³ was generally adopted by succeeding writers for many generations.

¹ This volume was in that year presented and accepted as a *Thesis* for the degree of D.D. in the University of Dublin.

² “Zach. Scholasticus, non diversus fortassis a Z. Rhetoré.”

³ “Cavaeus . . . duos ex uno homine fecit.”

It was apparently corroborated when Assemani (*ut supr.*), not only adduced specimens of the missing *History* in Syriac, not in Greek, but further showed that it was cited as the work of Zacharias, not of Mitylene, but of Melitênê [Malatia] in Armenia, in the (still inedited) *Commentary on the Gospels* of Dionysius BarSalibi, the most learned Divine of the Jacobite Church in Mesopotamia of the twelfth century. Accordingly, the accepted belief among Oriental scholars and historians was, until quite recently, that Zacharias the *Scholastic* (i.e. lawyer) was a Greek author, a controversialist, Bishop of Mitylene, under the jurisdiction of Constantinople; while Zacharias the *Rhetorician* wrote, in Syriac, the *History* known to Evagrius, and was Bishop of Melitene in the Patriarchate of Antioch.¹

But the publication of Land's edition of the text, and of the Introduction in which he described its contents, served to bring to light the true facts concerning the personality of Zacharias, the nature and limits of his *History*, and its relation to the work known to BarSalibi and in recent days (in the shape of extracts) to Assemani and to Mai. This work, now accessible to English readers in the volume before us, proves, on examination, to be of composite and very unequal structure. Yet it is no mere collection of extracts; it is continuous, and framed on a definite plan, by a writer who, though anonymous, gives ample particulars about the date (or more properly, dates) at which it was written, and the sources whence its matter was derived. Its general title in the MS. is simply, "A Volume [*penkîthâ* = πέντε] of Narratives of Events which have happened in the World"; but the running title, "*The Ecclésiastikê of Zachariah*," appears at the head of each leaf in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, of the twelve Books into which it is divided (and also in two leaves of the first Book). On examining the four Books so distinguished, we find that they, and they alone, are, at the close of the second Book, at the opening of the third and fourth, and at the close of the sixth, stated by the writer to be derived "from the History of Zachariah the Rhetorician [*m'lîlâ*]," who (he expressly adds) "wrote *in Greek*."

The first Book and the first chapter of the second consist mainly of legendary and hagiological matter. These, though Dr. Land printed them with the rest, our translators have very properly left out (except the introductory chapter of the first Book) as not

¹ The two names stand as separate headings in the *Catalogue* of the T.C.D. Library (but with a note appended, which refers to Jöcher's *Gelehrten-Lexikon*, for their possible identification), and probably in many others. So, likewise in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, they

are the subjects of two separate notices, in the latter of which, however, the identification of the two is admitted to be established. They are duly distinguished in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*. In Schaff's *Encyclopædia* there is mention only of the *Scholasticus*.

belonging to history, and alien from the main purpose of the compiler who, in this opening chapter (I. 1), describes his aim to be to provide "that the rest of the events which have occurred after those chronicled in the three Ecclesiastical Histories, of Eusebius, Socrates, and Theodoret, . . . are, as far as is possible, collected together from epistles or manuscripts, or trustworthy reports, and set down for the benefit of the believers." Accordingly, it is with Book II., chap. 2, that he begins his historical narrative—taking up the thread where Socrates dropped it in 439—and relates the proceedings of the Synod held at Constantinople in 448, at which Eutyches was deprived: and he closes that Book with the death of Theodosius II. in 450.

But in the four following Books (III.-VI.) the writer assumes a new attitude. In them he professedly translates and embodies the work of Zacharias Rhetor, and marks them off (as above noted) by an express attribution to him as their source, prefixed, twice repeated, and subjoined, to them. At the end of Book VI. he further informs us that he has abridged the work which he translated, "concisely and briefly (so to speak) in contracted style," or (as the words may be more accurately rendered), "in the way of epitome, summarily, in brevity of narrative," as compared with his original, "which Zacharias wrote thus far, in extended narrative, after the manner of the *πλάτος* of the Greeks." In these Books we have a record of the reigns of Marcian, Leo I., Leo II., and Zeno, with whose death (491) Book VI. ends—a period satisfactorily corresponding to that indicated by the references of Evagrius. These Books, therefore, are (with a few exceptions of insertions from other sources, duly noted by Mr. Brooks), to be accepted as an epitomized version of the lost *History* of Zacharias Rhetor.

"Thus far," then, but no farther (as our Syriac translator distinctly affirms in the sentence just cited), the hand of Zacharias is to be recognized in this Syriac Chronicle: the rest of it, as we shall presently show, is proved by its own internal evidence to be due to a different author. But along with this knowledge of the extent of the narrative of Zacharias, we owe to Dr. Land much information about his other works, and his personality; we are taught, not only to distinguish the "Rhetor" from the Syriac compiler of Books I., II., VII., and the following, but to identify him with the "Scholasticus" who wrote the *Ammonius*. To the *Chronicle*, Dr. Land appended the text of another treatise (not included in the English volume now before us), extracted from a MS. series of Syriac Lives of Saints (Brit. Mus., Add. 12174; belonging, like Add. 17202, to the Nitrian collection), *A Life of Isaiah of Skétté*, which is headed "Written by Zachariah *Schôlaslikâ* who wrote the *Ekklesiastikê*." This express identification assures us that we may appropriate to our historian the facts gathered from the *Υπόθεσις* to the *Ammonius*,

which tells of the *Scholasticus* that he had studied at Alexandria, and was residing at Berytus [Beirut] when the disputation recorded in that treatise was held—and from the title of the same treatise, which states that he afterwards became Bishop of Mitylene. Yet another document which confirms and adds to these facts has more recently come to light (included with the *Life of Isaiah*, in MS. 321, Collection Sachau, Berlin),—a *Syriac Life of Severus of Antioch*, also claiming Zacharias Scholasticus as its author.¹ It is not a complete biography of Severus, but rather a pamphlet in his defence, written seemingly in 516, twenty-five years before the death of its subject. It does not even carry its narrative down to the close of his episcopate, which was terminated by his deposition and flight in 518. The writer of this *Life* tells us of himself that he was born near Gaza, that, in Zeno's reign (474-491), he studied rhetoric at Alexandria, and law at Berytus, with Severus, whom he brought to baptism at Tripolis; and that he practised as an advocate at Constantinople, where he was living at the time of writing the *Life*. This mention of Gaza raises into certainty the acute conjecture of Mai (*ut supr.*, p. xv) that he is the "Zachariah of Gaza" whom John of Gaza addressed in an Ode, and Procopius of Gaza² in several letters. Thus his birth must apparently have been between the years 450-470, probably nearer the latter than the former; for (as we have seen) he was present, as Bishop of Mitylene, at Constantinople in 536. And his sphere of life and action is clearly defined—Gaza, Beirut, Tripoli, Alexandria, Constantinople, Lesbos; agreeing well with the range of his *History*, which treats mainly of the Churches subject to the Patriarchal Sees of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople—not Antioch. And thus the "Rhetor" and the "Scholasticus" being proved to be one and the same person, the theory of a Zacharias of Melitene, distinct from the Zacharias of Mitylene, falls to the ground. The "Melitene" of BarSalibi is (therefore) a mere blunder arising out of the similarity of the two names, a natural one on the part of a writer who was himself a native of that city.

In passing to the succeeding Books, the reader is at once made aware of a change of scene. The centre of interest has shifted eastward, and the circle now includes Antioch and the remoter regions subject to that See. The narrative in Books VII. and VIII. deals largely with the history of Severus and Philoxenus [*Aks'nayā*], the leaders of the Monophysite party in the east; and in Book IX. the annals of Monophysitism occupy nearly the whole narrative. The remaining Books, so far as we can judge from the fragments that survive, bore the same general character, and were similar in

¹ Edited by Dr. Spanuth, Göttingen, 1893.

² Not the historian, but a contemporary, a rhetorician mentioned by I'hotius (*Biblioth. clx*). For his *Epistles*

see Mai's collection *Classicorum Auctorum*, tom. iv. The *Odes* of John of Gaza are inedited. Both these authors wrote in Greek.

scope and range. And the writers cited throughout this latter portion of the work are all, with hardly an exception, connected with Antioch and the Sees of Mesopotamia,—Rabbûlâ of Edessa, Marâ of Amîd [Diarbekr], Simeon of Betharsham, Severus.

The seventh Book, though Land persuaded himself to accept it also as derived from Zacharias, is rightly judged by our translators, as Dr. Hamilton, in his earlier publication, had previously judged it, with Dr. Wright (*Syriac Literature*, p. 107),¹ to be the work of the Syriac compiler, who, for the rest of the volume, is the continuator, not the abridger and translator, of the work of Zacharias. The evidence of Books III.-VI., already stated, proves that this is so. The change of sphere and scope, as we have pointed out, and, as Mr. Brooks justly remarks, "the different character of this Book," confirm the conclusion which the preceding four Books indicate, namely, that Book VII. is not derived from the same source as they. It may be the continuator's own narrative, or it may be borrowed, in whole or part, from some unnamed writer or writers. In it, the narrator records, with much detail in some instances, such events as seemed to him most noteworthy of the reign of Anastasius (491-518), a period of more than twenty-seven years. Book VIII. comprises the short reign of Justin I. (518-527), with an appendix, interesting though irrelevant, drawn from matter inserted in a Greek copy of the Gospels by Marâ, Bishop of Amîd, including the *Pericope de Adultera* in a peculiar recension, being the passage which, as above mentioned, is cited as from Zachariah by BarSalîbî. Book IX., though twice as long as any of the previous Books, covers only the first ten years of Justinian (527-537). For the remaining Books, the latter part of the ms. is so mutilated that only the Preface and three of the sixteen chapters of the tenth survive, and of the twelfth but four—two of them incomplete; while the eleventh is entirely lost. Some fragments however, which Mr. Brooks has skilfully identified and collected from other sources, especially from the *Chronicles* of Jacob of Edessa and of the Patriarch Michael the Great,² serve to fill some part of the gaps in Book X. This Book carried on the narrative of Justinian's reign for eleven years more, to 548. The fragments of Book XII. only reach to his twenty-eighth year (556). But when entire, this Book covered the whole reign of Justinian and the earlier years of his successor, the second Justin. For the compiler (Book I. i.) expressly defines the range of his "Volume of Records" as reaching from the thirty-second year of Theodosius (A.D. 440) to the year 880 of the Greeks (A.D. 569). Now Justinian died in 565; and the compiler's twelfth and last Book must therefore have extended into the fourth year of Justin II.

¹ M. Duval (*La Littérature Syriacque*, p. 195) agrees in this judgment.

² This *Chronicle* is now in course of

publication, the Syriac text reproduced photographically, by M. Chabot. Only the first fascicule has as yet appeared.

The work contains internal evidence that it was composed at intervals. The writer speaks of Justinian as "the king of our day" (viii. 5, x. 1,—so too, xii. 7), though, as has been shown, the whole was not completed and finally arranged till four years at least after Justinian's death. One chapter (4) of the last Book appears to have been written in 561, a later one (7) in 555. Turning back to Book VII. we find at the close of it (chapter 15) a list of the occupants of the Patriarchal sees during the reign of Anastasius (who died in 518), in which we read "Of Rome . . . Hormisdas who is still living.¹ Of Alexandria, . . . Dioscorus who *now occupies the see.*" This chapter was therefore written in the pontificate of Hormisdas (514-523); and the limits of its date are yet farther narrowed by the mention of Dioscorus, whose short Patriarchate lasted only from 516 to 519. But as the Book extends to the death of Anastasius, we infer that it was completed 518-519. And it follows farther that the original *History* of Zacharias, of which it is a continuation, was published before 519.

Yet Book VII., as we now have it, contains tokens of a later date. Even in the list of the Patriarchs of the reign of Anastasius, in chapter 15 just cited, the chronology is disturbed, by the addition of Epiphanius of Constantinople and Peter of Jerusalem,—neither of whom attained to his Patriarchate until after the death (in 518) of Anastasius—the former in 520, the latter in 524. So too, in chapter 6, the account of the building of the city of Darâ, and of its erection into an episcopal see by Anastasius (in 506), is carried on so as to include the withdrawal of its second Bishop in the next reign, and the death of a disciple of that Bishop "in the year when Chosroes went up to Antioch," that is (as related in chapter 3 of Book x.), in 540. Mr. Brooks (page 2, note 1) notes these inconsistencies, but seems to account for them by assuming that our continuator, writing at a later date, has drawn the list of Patriarchs from an annalist of 518-519, and inserted it unchanged. On the irreconcilability of dates, implied in the list as it has reached us, Dr. Land (Introduction, pp. xi, xii) founded his opinion, that chapter vii, with the rest of the Book, was written by Zacharias in 518-519, and that the names of Epiphanius and Peter are intrusions of a later hand. M. Nau, on the other hand (*Journal Asiatique*, sér. IX., tome ix, pp. 527 ff.), though, with Land, he regards Book VII.—and goes beyond him in regarding the rest of our Chronicle—as the work of Zacharias, yet reverses his solution of the problem before

¹ So Dr. Hamilton renders the sentence. But in Land's text, the verb in the Syriac is plural, and in the past (*h'wau*) unmeaningly. No doubt the translator follows a reading which, by change of the last letter only, gives the present participle singular (*h'awê*), as in

the next sentence we read of Dioscorus *who now sits* (*yâthêbh*). But there is no note to state whether the emendation is conjectural or authorized by any evidence. The Brit. Mus. ms. gives the verb as printed by Land.

us by deciding that the list is borrowed from an earlier writer, and that the disturbing additions were made by Zacharias, whom he believes to have written at a time much later than Land supposed; for he considers it certain that Zacharias was writing his *History* as late as 544, because BarHebræus (*Chronicon Syr., sub anno Gr.* 855) cites him as his authority for a plague which occurred in that year. Accordingly he holds that the expressions "qui étaient maintenant," "qui siège maintenant" (for so he reads and translates the "*d' hāshā h'wau*," "*d' hāshā yāthēbh*" of vii. 15) mark the time present—not to Zacharias, but—to this supposed previous annalist of the last year of Anastasius.¹

But M. Nau, in this argument, strangely overrates the authority of BarHebræus. It is true that this thirteenth-century writer assigns to "Zachariah" the account of the plague of 544 which formed chapter 9 of Book x. of our Chronicle, and which, though wanting in the MS. used by Land, has been inserted in its place (p. 312) by Mr. Brooks from the *Chronicle* of Michael the Great. In fact, Michael (who was the Monophysite Patriarch, 1166–1199—a century earlier than BarHebræus) in recording this narrative, gives it as derived from "Zachariah." The same chronicler also, in a passage printed by M. Nau himself (*Journ. Asiat.*, t. viii, p. 525), expressly describes the *History* of Zacharias as extending from Theodosius to Justin², thus attributing to him the entire twelve Books. So likewise Michael's better known contemporary, Bar-Salibi, as we have already seen, cited the *Pericope de Adullera* in the shape in which it was told by Marā of Amid, as from "Zachariah"; whereas it belongs to Book VIII. (perhaps more properly to Book IX.), and is therefore due to the continuator.³ These facts only

¹ M. Nau, who has contributed so much valuable matter to the study of the writings of John of Asia, and other Syriac authors of the sixth century, proposes a second solution of the problem raised by this list. The expressions "qui étaient maintenant," "qui siège maintenant," may be regarded (he suggests) as implying no note of time, but merely as analogous to a similar expression in a like list of the same period given in the Chronicle usually (but, as he has elsewhere proved, wrongly) attributed to Dionysius of Tell-mahar,—namely, the note attached to certain names, "celui-ci est célèbre à cette époque," "this person was noted at this time" [*hānā mēthīdā b' hānā zābhānā*]. But it is obvious that the phrase of pseudo-Dionysius (which is a common one in many chronicles) falls very far short, in point of definite-

ness, of those employed in ix. 15. "Now" [*hāshā*] marks the present moment expressly, not like the wide and vague "at this time." And it is only in a man's lifetime that one can say he "*now sits*"; whereas that he "*at this time* (or '*now*') is known," or "*is noted*," may be said of him as long as he is remembered.

² That is, apparently, Justin II. But the MS. of Michael (M. Nau states) reads *Justinian*, and it is possible that Justinian is meant. Either agrees sufficiently with the facts of our *Chronicle*, which includes the last ten years of Theodosius, and the first four of Justin II.: but may be roughly described as extending from the close of Theodosius' reign to the close of Justinian's.

³ This *Pericope*, as known to Marā, was in Greek, for the copy of the Gospels in which it was inserted was a

prove that Michael, and with him BarSalibi, and after them Bar-Hebræus, did not know—possibly did not care—to distinguish between the work which is properly that of Zacharias, and the work which claims to be his only in a secondary sense, and is loosely called his as being that of his continuator. It would require much stronger evidence than these late *obiter dicta*, to rebut the strong presumption which lies against any theory that ascribes to an author whose life and training, and knowledge of affairs, and field of labour, lay in Palestine and Syria, in Alexandria and Constantinople, the close and engrossing familiarity with the affairs of Antioch and the Mesopotamian cities, shown by the writer of the seventh and following Books.

Elsewhere, indeed, M. Nau supplies a piece of external evidence which is fatal to his belief that Zacharias wrote the later Books of our Chronicle as well as the earlier. For he decides that the *Life of Severus* was written by Zacharias in 516. But, as Mr. Brooks notes, p. 3), whereas the *History* is dedicated (III. 1.) to one Eupraxius, described as an official of the Imperial household, who, when the dedication was written, was “dwelling in the royal palace and occupied in the service of kings,” the *Life* mentions the same person with the addition, “of illustrious memory” [*‘uhdhānā*]—a phrase that can hardly be understood otherwise than as implying that he was dead when this *Life* was written. If this be so, the *History* must have been written before the *Life*; therefore before 516, just thirty years earlier than the date wrongly inferred by M. Nau from BarHebræus.

So far, therefore, as we may rely on the internal indications of date, we are warranted in our conclusions, that of the twelve Books, the third and three following alone represent the Greek *History* of Zacharias; while the first and second, with the seventh and the rest, were supplied in Syriac by his Syriac translator; with the object first, of connecting Zacharias' narrative with that of Socrates, and secondly, of extending it down to his own day. Syriac readers were thus supplied with a continuous history which is now before us, and which, when un mutilated, carried on the chronicle of events from the point where Socrates left off, down to the time when the compiler closed his work, in the latter part of the sixth century.¹

Greek one (viii. 5, 7). The Syriac is therefore due to our continuator, who appends it to chapter 7 of his Book viii. But the Syriac text of it, as given by BarSalibi in his *Commentary* (where it follows St. John viii. 20), is practically identical with that of our continuator. It follows, therefore, that BarSalibi (and, no doubt, Michael also, and Bar-Hebræus) knew Zacharias, not in the Greek original, but in the Syriac, en-

larged, as we have it now, into this Chronicle.

¹ Mai states (*op. cit.*, p. xii) that he has found evidence of the existence of a MS. copy of Zacharias' *History* (presumably in Greek) “in a Byzantine library.” Until this or some other such copy is found, the question of the extent and contents of the *History* can hardly be regarded as absolutely settled.

It must be admitted, however, that in treating of a work so much of the nature of a compilation, one cannot absolutely rely on what seems to be—and in the work of an original writer might be confidently taken as being—trustworthy notes of time. As regards this list of Patriarchs, in particular, it is certain that the form in which it has reached us is not that in which it was at first drawn up; for it professes to be a list for the reign of Anastasius, and yet it includes names belonging to the reign of his successor, and notes that they so belong. Yet it is unlikely that even a compiler, if moderately careful and intelligent, would embody in his work extracts from his authorities just as he found them, without removing or altering such obviously misleading expressions as “the Patriarch *who now sits*,” and “the King *of our days*.” The list and other parts of these Books have been rehandled, no doubt; but why should the rehandling have been done by anyone but the original compiler in a final revision of his work when completed? The facts of the case may be sufficiently explained, and the difficulties solved, by the assumption that (as we have above shown to be probable) Book vii. and the rest of the work were written at intervals, by an industrious collector of facts and documents, who began his work in 518 or 519 (possibly earlier, as regards Books i. and ii.), and completed it in 569, or perhaps later. Thus the Syriac continuator, to whom we owe the compendium of Zacharias’ History embodied in his compilation, is to be regarded as having his work on hands for some fifty years; it is a collection of memoranda made, and documents brought together from time to time throughout a long life, and finally put into the shape in which it has come down to us, in his old age. Before issuing it into its final form, he would naturally take occasion here and there to make insertions, or recast statements, so as to bring his record up to date, or to connect the past with the time present to his readers; but he might easily forget, in some cases, to harmonize his original draft with his final alterations.¹ In case of vii. 15, it is easy to see why he would rehandle the list of the occupants of the five Patriarchal sees in 519 under Anastasius. As he originally wrote it, we may presume that he appended the words “who now is,” or “who now sits,” to the names of the prelates who then held the Patriarchates of Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, as he has done for Hormisdas of Rome, and Dioscorus of Alexandria. But, in subsequently revising it, he would, as a zealous Monophysite, remove the words that acknowledged the rank

¹ That some displacements and interpolations may be due to transcribers is possible. Yet it is not likely that such corruptions were extensive, considering that the MS. is a very early copy; in Dr. W. Wright’s judgment (*Catal. of*

MSS., Brit. Mus., p. 1046), to be assigned to “the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh century”; and was transcribed therefore little more than thirty years after the completion of the Chronicle.

of John of Constantinople, and John of Jerusalem, and would substitute the note of apostasy which, as the list now stands, records of each of them that he "received the Synod" (that of Chalcedon which condemned the Monophysite tenets) after the accession of Justin I. in 518. Under the head of Antioch, he would be at a loss how to express the position of the occupant of that see, Severus, the great leader of the Monophysite sect, who was forced to abdicate and placed under anathema in Justin's first year, and survived for many years in exile—and he would naturally avoid the difficulty, and mark the contrast as we find he has done, by sub-joining to his name only the word "believer" [*m'haimnā*], the usual title which Monophysites claimed for themselves and their co-religionists. On the other hand, he would have no reason to alter the note on the name of Dioscorus of Alexandria, who (as he records further on, viii. 5) "did not withdraw or accept the Synod in the days of Justin." The note on the Bishops of Rome he would likewise leave untouched, inasmuch as his work deals with the Churches of the East, not (except incidentally) of the west. A like instance of rehandling is his anticipation, in vii. 6, of the history of the see of Darā. The erection of that see is there related as being due to Thomas, Metropolitan of Amid, of whom (compare viii. 5) and of whose city our compiler had special and exact knowledge. He would therefore be disposed, in reviewing his record, to supplement it by adding such information as he possessed concerning Darā and the persons connected with its early history.

In surveying, as a whole, the composite narrative of this Chronicle, and comparing Books iii.–vi. with their supplement, the Greek Zacharias with the Syriac deutero-Zacharias (as we may style the continuator), the reader is impressed by the difference between them, not only (as already pointed out) in their sphere and range, but in their manner. The supplement is more discursive than the original history, and of looser structure; its narrative parts are on a larger scale (though fewer), being greater in bulk in proportion to the time covered. This is especially notable in Book ix., which, telling the story of ten years, occupies in the English translation seventy-eight pages, while forty-six suffice for the seventeen years of Books v. and vi. The explanation of this difference is, no doubt, that the latter part is, and the former is not, a contemporaneous record. Zacharias seems to have composed his History in literary method, constructing it out of materials gathered by study and records, or from oral information—not simply noting down his own personal and first-hand knowledge of events: for no such knowledge (at least as regards the earlier years included in his work, which begins with 453) was possible to one who in 536 (as we have above pointed out) was still living and acting as a Bishop, and who was therefore probably not born till after the middle of the fifth century. The deutero-Zacharias, on the contrary, writes apparently—at least

in Book viii. and what follows—as one contemporary with the facts he records, and with the writers of most of the documents which he embodies in his work.

One writer of his time from whom our continuator seems to have borrowed something, is the well-known John of Asia, whose *History* in its second part (extant in a series of extracts edited by Land in *Anecdota*, tom. ii.) covered nearly the same ground. The relation between these two parallel chronicles is well treated by Mr. Brooks (pp. 5-7), but cannot be regarded as completely determined until the documents bearing on it are more fully known.

Of the personal facts concerning Zacharias, there is little to be added to what has been already stated. We have negative evidence that he died or was deposed before 553; for, in that year, the fifth Œcumenical Council was held at Constantinople, and Palladius, not Zacharias, signed its acts as Bishop of Mitylene. Mr. Brooks suggests that his elevation to that see may indicate that he had abjured the Monophysite tenets, which in his *History* he so plainly avows, under the persecution of Justin or of Justinian. But it is much more probable that he had been promoted, as Anthimus was to Constantinople, in the brief space when the Monophysites regained favour through the influence of Justinian's consort, Theodora; and was, like Anthimus, driven out by the action of the Synod at which he was present in 536. It is difficult to suppose that his continuator, an ardent Monophysite, would have appropriated the work of one whom, if he had accepted the decrees of Chalcedon, he would have counted an apostate from the faith.

Of the continuator's personality we are ignorant, even of his name. We know only that he shows himself throughout to be a Monophysite; and we may infer from the dates above determined that he lived and wrote through at least half the sixth century, beginning in 518 or 519, and that he was therefore a younger contemporary of the historian, whose work he has translated and supplemented.

But, as we have seen, the leaders of learning and literature among the Monophysites of Mesopotamia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Michael, BarSalibî, BarHebræus, were even more ignorant, for they identified him with Zacharias. Their mistake is all the more strange, if Mr. Brooks is right in his very plausible conjecture that this unnamed compiler belonged to the great Mesopotamian city of Amîd, of which BarSalibi was bishop. The grounds of this conjecture are, that all through, from vii. 2 ff., where its siege and sufferings occupy three chapters, to xii. 6 and 7 (see pp. 151 ff.; 324, 329), he shows special and intimate knowledge of the fortunes of that city and its people, and to have had personal relation with several Amidenes; and (more particularly) that in xii. 5, he speaks of an occurrence at Amîd, which he is about to relate in 6, as having "happened *here*." In addition to these, we would note two

farther facts pointing the same way: (1) the fulness with which (as already referred to) he details the doings of Thomas, Bishop of Amîd; and (2) the minuteness of his information about Marâ, a later bishop of the same see, and about the library formed by him at Alexandria and preserved afterwards "in the treasury of the Church of Amîd,"—information extending even to the contents of a notable volume in that library, the copy of the Gospels in Greek, from which he translated a *Prologue*, inserted (rather irrelevantly) in viii. 7, followed by the *Pericope* above referred to. These he introduces thus: "The Prologue composed by Marâ, bishop of Amîd, in the Greek tongue in the *Tetreuangelîôn*"; and "There was inserted in the Gospel of the holy Marâ, the bishop, in the eighty-ninth Canon,¹ a chapter which is related only by John in his Gospel, and is not found in other manuscripts." These extracts must therefore have been obtained by our writer by direct access to this library and use of this unique copy.

Whoever he was, it is clear that students of the annals of the fifth and sixth centuries owe much to him, both for the preservation of the valuable work of Zacharias which he has incorporated into his Chronicle, and for the fresh matter added to it in the supplementary Books. The Chronicle, as a whole, ranks among the earliest and most authentic sources for the history of that period. The part of it which is due to Zacharias is, as we have seen, one of the authorities used by Evagrius, himself a sixth-century writer; and even the part which has been supplied by the unnamed continuator is prior by five-and-twenty years to the *History* of Evagrius, which was written in 594.

In conclusion, it is worth while to observe on the fact implied in the construction of this Chronicle: that a work written in Greek by an ecclesiastic holding office in the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, certainly not earlier than the very last years of the fifth century, was read, abridged, and translated, by a Syriac-speaking writer, probably of Mesopotamia, as early as 519. Thus the translator was dealing with the work of a living author, for Zacharias, as we have seen, sat in a Synod held seventeen years after that date. This is evidence of a freedom in inter-communication, and in circulation of literature, such as we should hardly have expected to find existing in that age, between places so remote from one another.

JOHN GWYNN.

¹ *I.e.* Eusebio-Ammonian section 89, which is St. John viii. 20. The Greek

Received Text places the *Pericope* (vii. 53–viii. 11) in section 88.

Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian : by R. H. CHARLES, D.D. (A. & C. Black, 1899.)

IN this weighty and learned treatise Dr. Charles has given us the fruit of many years' study. The substance of the work was delivered last year in lectures instituted under the Jowett Trust, but many amplifications and additions have been made since then. Dr. Charles has special qualifications for writing such a book as this inasmuch as he has a wider and more detailed knowledge than any other English scholar of the remarkable literature which was produced by the Jews between the close of the Old Testament Canon and the dawn of Christianity. His editions of the Ethiopic and the Slavonic *Enoch*, of the *Book of Jubilees*, of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and of the *Assumption of Moses* are the standard editions for scholars; and he has written many important articles on kindred subjects in the new Bible Dictionaries which are being brought out by Dr. Hastings and Dr. Cheyne. Dr. Charles has thus approached his great subject with an equipment which it is safe to say no former writer upon it possessed; and the advantage of knowledge of these curious by-products of the Jewish mind is apparent on every page of his work.

It is difficult to summarise his conclusions in a brief notice. But his main idea is that two distinct lines of development may be traced in the literature of the Old Testament, the doctrine of the eschatology of the individual Israelite, and the doctrine of the eschatology of the nation. It is not until the fourth century B.C. that, according to Dr. Charles, these streams unite. Then the hope of individual immortality became merged in the national hope of a glorious and eternal future; only to be again distinguished from it and to find its true relation thereto, in the teaching of Christianity.

HERMATHENA is not a Theological review, and we could not enter here upon the discussion of disputed doctrinal questions. It is sufficient to indicate Dr. Charles' methods; and we observe that he works altogether on the literature as dissected by the modern school of Old Testament critics. We may be permitted to doubt if the systems of dissection which he adopts will, in all cases, bear the test of time. For example, when Dr. Charles finds himself obliged in the exposition of his view of St. Mark, xiii., to remove vv. 7, 8, 14-20, 24-27, 30, 31 from their context, and to treat the excised portions as forming in themselves a little Apocalypse which has found its way in fragments into the text, we confess that we are more disposed to admire his ingenuity than to accept his theory.

More germane to HERMATHENA is the Professor's very interesting account of the doctrine of a future life in Greek literature (pp. 137-157). He makes the acute observations that it is not a human

soul with which Plato's final teaching deals, but a pure intelligence; and that Plato's doctrine, as set over against the Jewish and Christian, is "the glorification of an unbridled individualism."

The excellent index with which the book is furnished will enable it to be consulted with ease; and we have no doubt that it will be consulted by many readers. It is indeed bare justice to say that it is the most important treatise on the subject which has been produced for many years, and that it will be indispensable to the student of Biblical Theology.

Aeschyli Tragoediae; cum fabularum deperditarum fragmentis, poelae vita, et operum catalogo: recensuit ARTURUS SIDGWICK, litterarum graecarum apud Oxonienses praelector publicus, Collegii Corporis Christi Socius. Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano.

THE university public of this country are so well acquainted with Mr. Sidgwick's various eminent services to classical scholarship, that a text of Aeschylus edited by him is sure to be received with confidence. The work before us will, we venture to assert, amply justify such confidence. This and the other volumes of the same series already issued from the Clarendon Press are characterised by neat binding, convenient size, beautiful paper and printing, and almost everything that recommends a book at first sight. But these publications are not meant for the idle book-lover, but for the diligent student who will spend little time in contemplating their appearance, and will turn his attention immediately to their intrinsic qualities. So far as we can judge from the specimens which have come into our hands, they will prove a boon both to learners and to teachers in our university classes. The fundamental idea of the series is distinctly practical—to provide students with texts as sound as can be obtained from the MSS. by editors who, without extravagance, are content to be influenced by constant regard for documentary evidence, but who also walk at every step in the full light of modern scholarship, critical and exegetical. The task which confronts an editor of Aeschylus is especially difficult. He must have studied a mass of Aeschylean writings—editions of the poet's works, whether complete or in single plays;—and must have, at least, endeavoured to form a judgment on each of the multitude of more or less ingenious "emendations" proposed by scholars of the last three centuries. Moreover, he must have instructed himself as to the inter-relationship of the surviving MSS., and as to their origin and history, so far as this is possible. This herculean labour

seems to have been successfully performed by Mr. Sidgwick, whose successors will gratefully feel their own labours lightened as they avail themselves of the results of his work.

He tells us, in his preface, of the plan on which he has proceeded. He has adhered as closely as possible to the Medicean Codex, admitting the readings of later mss. only when these are manifestly "more correct"; adopting, when all mss. are at fault, conjectures of sufficient positive merit, provided that they are not too widely divergent from the Codices; and recommending in his notes such conjectures only as are "probable," while wisely allowing the remainder to sink into oblivion (so far as this work is concerned) unnoticed and in silence.

His views on the comparative worth of the mss. are orthodox. He naturally regards the Medicean Codex as his leading authority. As to the question whether the other mss. have (as has been asserted by Cobet, W. Dindorf, Kirchhoff, and Wecklein) been derived from this, or whether they and M alike have been derived from a common source, Mr. Sidgwick is inclined to adopt the latter view. For this he depends on such facts as that the excellent verse *Septem* 195—*τοιαῦτά τᾶν γυναιξὶ συνναίων ἔχουσιν*—, while found in the more recent mss., is absent from M; and that the later mss. are in many places right where M is wrong, while exhibiting errors of their own not traceable to M, so that their superior readings (when they *are* superior) cannot reasonably be ascribed to a "corrector." Influenced by these and similar arguments (for which he refers to Mr. C. Brennan, *Journ. Phil.*, xxii.), he seems to believe that at least four of the later mss. do not simply witness to the text of M, but are derived from a common archetype. He does not, however, express himself dogmatically to this effect, nor will he grant that the comparative value of M is lessened by such considerations. Whenever he departs from this great authority, he carefully records its readings in the footnotes, except as regards the most trifling points. Where M fails, he states in detail the various readings of the inferior mss. on which one has then to rely. The references in the notes to the names of the long train of Aeschylean critics from 1518 (when the Aldine edition appeared) to the present day are sufficient to vindicate the competence of the present editor, and to acknowledge the vast debt which he owes to his predecessors. In perusing the volume before us we have sought for Mr. Sidgwick's own contributions to the text. These appear to be uniformly good, commending themselves *a priori* by the improvements they effect in the sense and grammar. No one will think there are too many of them. We have noticed, among others, the following:—*Supplices*, 146 ἀσφαλῆ (ἀσφαλές, Codd.); 165 οὐρανοῦ, with Tucker's γαμετῶν for the corrupt γαμετουρανόν-εικων of Codd.; 342 ἀνστήσεις (ἀνστήσας, Codd.); 405-6 μεταλγές (μεταλγείς, Codd.); 989 ἐκ πρυμνῆς φρενός (εὐπρυμνῆ, Codd.), where

Hermann had read ἐν πρύμνῃ φρενός; *Septem*, 1007 ἔνθα (ὅπου, Codd.); *Agam.*, 1340 ἐπικράνῃ (ἐπικρανεί, Codd.); *Choephorae*, 434 ταφὰς ἀτίμους (τὸ πᾶν ἀτίμως, M); *Fragm.*, 179 οὐ τις ἄλλος (οὐκ ἄλλος, Codd.); 360 ἀλκήν (δίκην, Codd.).

This edition, as a whole, is highly satisfactory. It has been planned and executed for the advancement of Aeschylean studies, and is therefore disfigured by none of the clever idiosyncrasies which at once display the ingenuity of editors and fatally limit the usefulness of their work.

Thucydidis Historiae: recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit HENRICUS STUART JONES. Tomus prior. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1900.

THIS volume is a member of the series which is intended to remove the long-standing and notorious disgrace of English publishers by making it needless to go to Germany for our classical texts. To judge from the present work, this aim is unquestionably attained; but the merit so acquired is after all of a merely negative order, and if this were all the praise we could give, it would be faint indeed. Mr. Jones, however, deserves much more cordial treatment at our hands. He has done his work well, and has produced an excellent text of his author's first four books. Unlike many editors, he has not failed to recognise that the manuscripts were made for man, not man for the manuscripts; he neither re-writes them nor slavishly transcribes them: but, by bringing scholarship, taste, and sound judgment to bear upon their evidence, he has contrived to extract from them what must be very near the truth. Similar firmness and good sense mark the editor's treatment of the countless suggestions made by scholars. Plausibility does not carry him off his feet. Cobet's *ἐνεξήλθον* appears in 1, 3, 4, and *τε* is struck out in 1, 9, 3; but Ullrich's *μετοικήσεις* is rightly confined to the note on 1, 2, 6. Reiske's certain *περιόντι* displaces *περιόντι* (1, 30, 3); Krüger's *καταθήσεσθε* (1, 33, 1); Herwerden's omission of *ἦν* in 3, 31, 1; the introduction of *οἱ* in 3, 37, 2; the MS. reading in 3, 39, 4, despite a score of editors; the necessary *τῷ* for *τό* in 3, 42, 6; Stahl's *Γραϊκῆς* (3, 91, 3)—all these appear in Mr. Jones's text. They have been taken almost at random, and we are sure that a careful examination would supply dozens more.

As no two students of Thucydides have ever agreed on all points, or ever will agree till the end of time, it might be expected that this notice would not terminate without a few suggestions which, as their maker at least thinks, would much improve even Mr. Jones's excellent text. In 1, 25, 4, *ὁμοῖα* at any rate is impossible, whatever may be right. Surely Linwood's

simple change to ὁμοίῳ, and that, too, without Steup's needless omission of the three next words, remedies the sentence. In 1, 57, 6., not merely δέκα, but μετ' ἄλλων δέκα should be obelised, as the locution is solecistic. In 3, 11, 2 Steup rightly omits δέος: otherwise the sentiment flatly contradicts 12, 1. In 3, 51, 2 Mr. Jones prints the incredible accusative τοὺς Πελοποννησίους, giving Hünneke's πρὸς in the critical note. A more likely cure is to insert σκοπεῖν between the proper name and ὅπως, where it might readily have fallen out. This would be an improvement on Stahl's σκοπῶν. The infamous crux near the end of the fourth book (117, 2) demands emendation of some kind. We suggest τοὺς for τοῖς. The ἔτι clause implies that the Lacedaemonians contemplated the possibility of a check to Brasidas; the rest of the sentence means that even if so much further success attended his arms as to efface the Athenian superiority in Thrace, there still remained to counterbalance it the probability that their captive fellow-countrymen (τῶν μὲν) would be put to death (τῶν μὲν στέρεσθαι is euphemistic), and that the enemy (τοὺς δέ), even though *ex hypothesi* encountered on equal terms, might in the long run (καί) prove victorious. τοὺς is the subject of κρατήσῃν; the violent order is due merely to the antithesis. The phrase ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου refers to ἀντίπαλα καταστ., not, as has been said, to an equalising of things by the execution of the captives. If the dative, τοῖς, be preferred, τῶν μὲν means the captives, τοῖς δέ the Lacedaemonians in Thrace; but it becomes necessary to understand κινδυνεύειν κρατήσῃν as "to be in danger as to the ultimate victory," *i.e.*, likely to lose it. There seems to be no authority in Thucydides for this construction of κινδυνεύειν, though it would give a perfect sense here, and for that reason we prefer to read τοὺς.

Platonis Opera: recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit JOANNES BURNET, in universitate Andreana litterarum graecarum professor, Collegii Mertonis olim socius; tomus 1. tetralogias I.-II. continens. Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano.

A NEW issue of the text of Plato's works has long been needed. The editions of Stallbaum and the Zürich editors have fallen behind the requirements of the present day. Work like that of Schanz and others has revolutionized Platonic criticism. To us it is most satisfactory that the great Clarendon Press, ever quick to perceive and do what is best for the cause of *litterae humaniores*, has undertaken to publish an edition which shall really represent the present condition of Platonic scholarship.

The volume which has just appeared bears the external marks of excellence which characterise publications of the Oxford Press ; while exhibiting internal evidences of carefulness and learning sufficient to entitle it to the complete confidence of readers. Mr. Burnet's conception of the duty incumbent on him is one with which no fault can be found, and to this conception he seems to have adhered steadfastly when executing his work in detail.

In accordance with the judgment of all scholars, he gives the chief place, in Platonic criticism, to three great fountains of the text—the Clarke ms. (B), Parisinus A, and the ms., in St. Mark's Library at Venice, called by Schanz T. For tetralogies I–VII., however, the authorities are the Clarke and the Marcian Codices, the first volume of Parisinus A having perished. On these, accordingly, the editor has had to depend for the portion of his work which has appeared—tetralogies I. (containing *Euthyphro*, *Apologia Socratis*, *Crito*, *Phaedo*) ; and II. (containing *Cratylus*, *Theætetus*, *Sophista*, *Politicus*). Though it has not been demonstrated, and may not be true, that the other MSS. of these dialogues depend upon the Bodleian and Marcian Codices, he is convinced that “his libris Platonis memoriam ita contineri ut ceteris omnibus paene sine damno carere possemus.” Contenting himself with stating this in his preface, he refers us for the arguments in its support to a critical work of his own which will soon appear. He recognises the services of Schanz in restoring the Marcian Codex to the high place it deserves in the esteem of Platonic scholars. Though the positive merits of the Bodleian (or Clarke) ms. entitle it to the highest consideration, yet it contains lacunae, &c., which may, however, be repaired without difficulty from the Marcian Codex. This, before Schanz, was not understood, and, in order to make good the deficiencies of the Clarke ms., it was thought necessary to have recourse to MSS. of no independent authority, such as Venetus 184—a mere transcript made for the use of Bessarion. Further, the original text of the Clarke ms. has in many places perished under unhappy “corrections” written into it, so that, if this Codex alone remained, we should have Plato's words, no doubt, but often so mutilated that criticism could have no hope of restoring their integrity. The editor gives some instances to illustrate the comparative values of the Marcian and Bodleian Codices, and the way in which the one helps to remedy the defects of the other. “In tetralogies I.–VI., the Bodleian Codex heads one family of MSS., the Marcian another.” The latter appears to have been transcribed from some excellent *exemplar*, “which” (says Mr. Burnet) “one may suspect to have been the now lost first volume of Codex Parisinus A.”

He gives some interesting details of the Codex Vindobonensis—an important member of a class of interpolated MSS. which seems somehow connected with the families of both B and

T. It mainly follows the Clarke ms., yet everywhere exhibits readings derived from the Marcian Codex; but a very remarkable feature in it is that it also exhibits readings which occur in neither of these mss., and yet bear unmistakable signs of antiquity. This must have been very like the ms. used by the "vetus Armenius interpres" of the *Euthyphro Crito* and *Apologia*, whose readings have been published by Mr. F. C. Conybeare (*Amer. Journ. Phil.*, vol. xii., pp. 193, *sqq.*). Our Editor thinks there was an ancient recension of Plato's works, different from any we possess, of which traces are to be found in Eusebius, Stobaeus, &c. This recension may have been the remote source of the peculiar readings common to the Codex Vindobonensis, and the ms. used for the Armenian version.

The Editor briefly appraises the value of the papyrus fragments (Papyrus Arsinoiticus) of the *Phaedo*, recently discovered by Mr. Flinders Petrie—"Tanta incuria scripta sunt, tot manifestis erroribus scatent, ut vel inde colligas quantum praestent codices nostri, ex optimis exemplaribus descripti, apographis quae iam tum vili pretio in usum litteratorum plebis prostabant." In his notes, nevertheless, he records not only the various readings of the Clarke and Marcian Codices, but the chief variations from our texts observable in these fragments, as well as in the *Versio Armeniaca*, and in citations of Plato by Eusebius, Stobaeus, Iamblichus, &c.

For the purpose of his work he has inspected, "multis locis" (he tells us), the Clarke ms., and he much regrets that the phototype copy of this had not been issued in time for him to use it.

The footnotes inform the reader of the chief results obtained (or attempted) by the several great Platonic scholars of the present century. Of emendations of his own, adopted in the text by Mr. Burnet, the following may be mentioned:—*Euthyphro*, 12 b 1, ἐθέλει νεικεῖν (ἐθέλεις εἰπεῖν, BT); 15 d 1, προσσχῶν (προσέχων, B; προσχῶν, T); *Apologia*, 32 a 8, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅμα καὶ ἅμα ἂν, B); 35 c 8, τάχ' ἂν οὖν (τάχ' οὖν, B; τάχα νοῦν, T); 35 a 1, τῷ Σωκράτῃ (τῷ Σωκράτει, B; τὸν Σωκράτη, T); *Phaedo*, 65 e 7, μήτε τιν' (μήτε τήν, BT); 74 d 7, τῷ ἐκείνου (τῷ, B), where Burnet brackets τῷ ἴσον; 75 d 2, τὸ "αὐτὸ δ' ἐστὶ" (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ, BT); 85 a 1, μέγιστον (μάλιστα, BT, Stobaeus); 112 d 3, <ἦ> ἢ ἐπηγλήϊτο (as also in 5, after Wytttenbach); 117 a 1, οὐδὲν γὰρ <ἂν> οἶμαι κερδαίνειν. He has also (so far as we have observed) made about six independent changes in the text of the *Cratylus*, three in the *Theaetetus*, five in the *Sophista*, and three in the *Politicus*. Besides the comparatively few new readings thus admitted into the text, he has recorded a great number of probable suggestions, diverging, however, too widely from the codices to be adopted among the words of Plato.

We heartily welcome this edition as constituting a new ἀφορμὴ in Platonic studies.

1. *A Commentary, with Introduction and Appendix, on the Hellenica of Xenophon.* By G. E. UNDERHILL, M.A., Fellow and Senior Tutor of Magdalen College.
2. *Xenophontis Opera Omnia recognovit brevique adnotatione instruxit.* E. C. MARCHANT. E Collegio Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis apud Oxonienses. Tomus I. Historia Graeca. Oxonii typographeo Clarendoniano.

IN presenting us with his completed commentary on the *Hellenica of Xenophon*, Mr. Underhill has allowed his work to suffer from the lack of a steady adherence to a single object. To the student of Greek history this book must be of great value. The introduction contains an interesting and judicious estimate of Xenophon's aims and limitations as a writer of history; a carefully compiled excursus on Xenophon's chronology is affixed, in which the principal points in dispute are thoroughly and lucidly discussed; the notes are filled with valuable references to the other historians of the period, and to the various inscriptions bearing on the subject matter; the appendix supplies us with fuller details on sundry points of the story which have been left obscure by Xenophon, and adds two short but useful essays on the constitutions and resources of Sparta and Thebes. Where so much is given to us it seems ungrateful to complain; yet a reader who is capable of appreciating these merits will probably feel annoyed at the way in which they are clogged and concealed by a mass of elementary grammatical criticisms and unnecessary elucidations. On the other hand, the schoolboy, for whose benefit these explanatory notes are presumably furnished, will be merely bewildered by the copious supply of historical references and discussions. Unfortunately this is not all; at times it seems clear that Mr. Underhill has allowed his interest in the historical side of his work to lead him to slur over the critical commentary, the result being that his explanatory notes on places of real difficulty are sometimes inadequate, while in quite simple passages his renderings are occasionally slovenly, and even misleading. Such a note as that on Bk. vi. iv. § 11, combines every defect in a single line; and if, in Bk. iv. vii. 4, the words *ᾧοντο ἀπιέναι* are held to require a note, the translation "thought they *ought* to retire" will scarcely improve matters. Again, at Bk. v. i. 19, Mr. Underhill rejects Liddell and Scott's translation of *κόπαις προσκομιζόμενος* without alleging reasons; but he certainly ought to produce some arguments in support of his own rendering, "setting the sailors to work at the oars." One would like to know why Mr. Underhill, while repeatedly describing the office of *ἐπιστολεύς* as "the second in command," and quoting the definition of Pollux, *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ*

στόλου διάδοχος τοῦ ναυάρχου, still persists in rendering the title "secretary"; or why, at VI. iv., 12, he fixes the number of men in the ἐνωμοτία at 24, when the passage would certainly lead one to suppose that in this case, at least, it was 36 (Thucydides, in Bk. 5, c. 68, states it at 32); or again, what his authority is for describing the Euripus of Mytilene as a shallow channel between the two harbours of the city, an account which renders the manœuvres of Callicratidas and Diomedon absolutely unintelligible.

It is to be doubted, moreover, if Mr. Underhill was wise in publishing his commentary without the customary accompaniment of a text and a full critical apparatus. True, he adopts Mr. Marchant's excellent edition of the text for all purposes of reference, and is content to point out in his appendix the rare occasions on which he disagrees with the judgment of the Clarendon Press editor. But skilful and thorough though Mr. Marchant's work is, he is precluded by the very nature of his task from giving arguments and citing parallel passages to justify his selection and rejection of readings or emendations; and Mr. Underhill's commentary makes no effort to supply this deficiency, so that the student is often left dissatisfied and unconvinced. And here we may complain that Mr. Marchant is inclined to carry conservative principles too far. How can he retain such obviously false readings as οὐδέν, ἄν (I. vi. 14), and πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων (II. iv. 34), when Naber's οὐδέν' ἄν, and Dindorf's πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, are as certain as any emendation can be? And surely Peter's clever suggestion at I. vii. 27, ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν τινα καὶ οὐκ αἴτιον ὄντα ἀποκτείναιτε; μεταμελήσαι δὲ ὕστερον ἀναμνήσθητε ὡς ἀλγυνὸν κτλ, is deserving of a place in the text.

But it is to historical annotation that Mr. Underhill has given most of his labour, and here the results are thoroughly satisfactory. His defence of Xenophon's honesty against the attacks of Grote and his school is a skilful piece of pleading. He points out that his author's so-called partialities are evinced entirely in his omissions, never in active misrepresentation; and proceeds to show that these omissions, except in one case, tell as much against his supposed favourites, the Spartans, as against their opponents, and are such as must inevitably be found in a narrative based for the most part on personal observation and oral information, and compiled by degrees during a long period of time. The one exception is found in his treatment of the exploits of Thebes. Here Xenophon is undeniably unjust, but what justice could be expected from the high-bred Athenian gentleman towards the traditional butts of his country's wits; from the well-drilled tactician of the old school towards the innovators, who had been the first to meet the invincible Spartan infantry face to face and to crush it by the inartistic argument of avoirdupois; from the friend of Agesilaus, to his patron's private enemies? Thebes, the champion

of Hellenic liberty! That was a change of view too complete to demand of a retired Major-General.

On the question of the relation of the *Hellenica* to the work of Thucydides, Mr. Underhill takes a middle course. He refuses to accept the theory based on a statement of Marcellinus, that Xenophon edited the works of Thucydides, and finding the history incomplete proceeded to finish it in the first two books of the *Hellenica*, working on a rough scheme already drawn up by the elder writer. At the same time he recognises a distinction between this earlier part of the *Hellenica* and the rest in arrangement and style, which leads him to accept the tradition of antiquity that in it Xenophon was consciously writing a sequel to Thucydides. The other books he supposes to have been added from time to time as events passed by, the tone of the writer varying throughout with the changes in the fortunes of his friends and hosts, the Spartans.

Perhaps the most carefully prepared portion of the book is the section of the introduction devoted to chronology. Here Mr. Underhill has spared no pains in collecting evidence from all sources, external and internal, to enable him to gather into a single consecutive narrative the tangled medley of alarms and excursions which serves for the history of Greece between the Syracusan expedition and the Peace of Antalcidas. His task is the more difficult as he agrees with most recent commentators in rejecting as interpolations all the passages in the text which offer direct indications of dates.

The appendix is full of interesting matter. Especially worthy of note is the section in which Mr. Underhill endeavours to prove that the Peace of Antalcidas was directed not so much against the Theban confederacy as against a systematic effort on the part of Athens, led by Thrasybulus, to recover her old empire.

Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit R. C. SEATON, M.A., Coll. Jesu. apud Cantab. quondam Socius. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano.

THE Clarendon Press, as part of their new series of classical texts, have now furnished us with the epic of the undeservedly neglected Alexandrian author, Apollonius. Like the other editions which have already appeared in the series, it is most excellently produced as regards externals, but one must regret the adamantine fetters of Conservatism by which the editors are shackled, and which

seem likely to lead scholars to prefer the familiar German series. German editions, though often abounding in rash corrections, yet always contain much that is new and suggestive. Mr. Seaton's own contributions to establishing the text of Apollonius are infinitesimally small, consisting merely of two trifling changes, οὔτε, for οὐδέ, in iii. 936; and ἐκδώης, for ἐκδῶης, in iv. 1015. The editor states in the Preface, "Huius editionis lex emendationes fieri vetat nisi certissimas." A "certissima emendatio," however, seems rather a subjective matter; for to us Merkel's ἐτεῖν, for ἱτεῖν κατὰ βάξιν, in i. 8, and μῆνιμα, for ἱμῆνι, in iii. 891, present themselves as amongst those φαντασθαί καταληπτικά, which the Stoics regarded as the test of truth, and yet neither is adopted in this edition. On the other hand, δαημοσύνησιν, for ἀλημοσύνησιν, in ii. 1260, appears very far from being either certain or even probable. In the selected list of emendations which the editor subjoins to the text, we find, on i. 110, an emendation of Rzach, ἡλυθ' ἐελομένοισιν, an impossible ending for a Greek hexameter.

In i. 516-7, we find, in Mr. Seaton's text :

οὐδ' ἐπὶ δὴν μετέπειτα κερασσάμενοι Διὶ λοιβάς
ἢ θέμις ἐστί, τέως ἐπὶ τε γλώσσησι χέοντο.†

In the second line Merkel reads εὐαγέως. The primary cause of the corruption was the introduction of ἐστί after ἡ θέμις (or ἡ θέμις), which is quite superfluous, and when we turn to *Odyssey* III. 336-341, where we find the same custom described, viz. the pouring of wine over the tongues of the victims, we have the true reading suggested by line 341 :

γλώσσας δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον, ἀνιστάμενοι δ' ἐπέλειβον.

Read, therefore, for the corrupt line in Apollonius :

ἡ θέμις (or ἡ θέμις) ἐστηῶτες ἐπὶ γλώσσησι χέοντο.

In i. 881-882 :

ταὶ δὲ γλυκὺν ἄλλοτε ἄλλον
καρπὸν ἀμέργουσιν πεποτημέναι·

Rutgers' ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον seems extremely probable, and for ἀμέργουσιν (v.l. ἀμέλγουσιν) we may suggest ἀμέρδουσιν : cf. Anth. P. 7. 657. 7, λειμώνιον ἄνθος ἀμέρσας.

In ii. 98 :

Οὐδ' ἄρα Βέβρυκες ἄνδρες ἀφείδῃσαν βασιλῆος.

Mr. Seaton fails to adopt the true reading, ἀκῆδῃσαν, preserved

by Choeroboscus. The line at once recalls Soph. *Antig.* 413, εἴ τις τοῦδ' ἰάφειδῃσι πόνου, where Bonitz has restored ἀκήδησοι. Professor Jebb, in his note, shows conclusively that, both in Sophocles and Apollonius, ἀφειδεῖν, in this sense, is quite indefensible.

In iii. 756-757 :

πυκνὰ δέ οἱ κραδίῃ στηθέων ἔντοσθεν ἔθουεν
ἡελίου ὥς τίς τε δόμοις ἐνιπάλλεται αἶγλη
ὑδατος ἐξανιούσα.

Knaack's correction, δοκοῖς, for δόμοις, is rendered almost convincing if we compare the reproduction of the simile in Virg. *Aen.* viii. 22, foll., especially line 25 :

“Erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti.”

In iii. 1384, either κνημῶν or γούνων (or Merkel's κώλων) might have been read for the obelised and meaningless ὤμων.

Lucreti De Rerum Natura libri sex, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit CYRILLUS BAILEY, Collegii Exoniensis Socius. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano.

In his Preface the new editor of *Lucretius* thus states his position : “In hac editione perraro inveniuntur quae nova sint aut non prius temptata. Malui editorum laboribus fretus libellum bene sanatum proferre quam nova adhibendo medicamina aut nova vulnera adferre aut vetera adgravare.” One seeks in vain for anything new in this “bene sanatus libellus”; an array of obelised passages is all that rewards our search. A mere reproduction of all the mss. errors might be uniformly unsatisfactory, but it would be more valuable than a text in which many dubious emendations are embedded, while many corrections which are generally accepted are omitted. In i. 289, Munro's simple correction, *quicquid* for *quidquid*, restores the line perfectly, and yet this reading is not adopted. In ii. 42, one would have thought that Munro's *et ecum vi* had exorcised †*Epicuri* for ever. In iii. 198, *ipse Eurū movere*, for †*spicarumque*, has won no place in Mr. Bailey's edition. In v. 1409, Munro's excellent restoration, *servare recens* for *servare* †*genus*, is rejected; and Lachmann's *moris*, for *modis*, in vi. 453, shares the same fate. As a general rule Mr. Bailey's

deviations from Munro's text are not happy. For example in i. 469, Munro's *Teucris*, for †*terris*, is in every way preferable to Bernays' *saeclis*, which appears in this edition, and in ii. 1061, *colarunt*, 'strained through,' meets the requirements both of sense and metre better than Lachmann's *coluerunt* (from *coalesco*). In some cases the readings adopted in Munro's text are not even mentioned in Mr. Bailey's critical notes, e.g. *Praeter eat*, in ii. 342; *superat et lambens*, in v. 396; and *subu' sic*, in v. 970. In the well-known corruption in v. 1010, Mr. Bailey reads *nunc dant <aliis> sollertius ipsi*. We would like to know how he proposes to translate that solecistic *ipsi*, and also what he makes out of the mystical form *torrat*, which he reads in iii. 917. Palmer's *parum aptum*, for †*corruptum*, should be mentioned in the critical notes on vi. 1135, also his *pupi*, for *puri*, in iv. 1026.

Cornelii Taciti Opera Minora, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit HENRICUS FURNEAUX, Coll. C.C. olim socius. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano.

THIS volume of the new Oxford Texts leaves little to be desired: and that was to be expected when the work was entrusted to the best Tacitean scholar in the country. Thoroughness, lucidity, judiciousness, these are marks of Mr. Furneaux's works: and they are all exhibited here within the narrow limits to which he has been confined. Scholars have every reason to deplore that his brain and hand are now stilled, and that he has not been permitted to crown the edifice of his life-work with such an edition of the *Histories* as he alone could have produced. For the soundness and learning of this little work of his, unhappily his last, show that his powers were as vigorous as ever, and make us feel the more deeply the loss we have sustained.

The introductions in this volume are merely the briefest statement of the manuscript authority available. The critical notes, distinctly conservative on the whole, are also very brief: but, though we could have wished that the promoters of the series had allowed a somewhat longer critical apparatus, still in the present case most of the disputed passages are adequately handled. We have noticed that in *Germania* 4. 1, Mr. Furneaux (who read *opinion* in his larger edition) adopts the ms. reading *opinionibus*, without doubt rightly; for two opinions are stated (1) that the Germans were a "sincera gens," (2) that they are like none but themselves. This has been well shown by Professor Gudeman in *Philologus* 58 (1899), pp. 39-40. We wish that Mr. Furneaux had also followed

the American scholar in reading *loci* with some mss. for "*ioci*" in 22. 4 (the subjects were serious and not jokes, and *iocus* could hardly mean "conviviality"); and in 46.1, in maintaining the mss. reading *sordes omnium et torpor procerum*, "all are dirty and the chiefs lazy"; for *omnes* opposed to *proceres*, Prof. Gudeman compares 11. 1. But he seems to have rightly disregarded Lipsius's omission of *non* (approved of by Prof. Gudeman) before *multum* in 15. 1. The succeeding lines show that the nation had become less active since Cæsar's time. We venture to think that *victus inter hospites comis* (21. fin.) is sound. It was not only that the Germans kept open house, but they did so willingly: they were always quite courteous towards their uninvited guests, a course of conduct a sophisticated people like the Romans of Tacitus's day would marvel at. In 33. 1, *penitus excisis* is rightly retained, though inaccurate historically. Tacitus was not infallible. Perhaps in 38. 3 we should read *retrosum comuntur* for "*retro sequuntur*": in 40. 4 *fota* for "*nota*" (*fovere* being a word much affected by Virgil, and in harmony with the general poetical colouring of the passage, and with "*amata*" immediately following); and in 45. 7 *qua*, for "*quæ*," and translate "as there are groves in the East where balsam exudes, so there are [groves] in the West where substances, forced out by the heat of the sun which is close to them, and becoming liquid, flow into the sea," &c. Of course *sucina* for "*vicini*" is very attractive, but we fear delusive.

In Agricola 10. 4, perhaps we should read *sed transgressis et*: and in 11. 2, we think that Mr. Furneaux should not have adopted *vi* of Rhenanus for the mss. *usu* which gives a very fair sense "the practices of their original state still continuing." Also we cannot approve of his deserting the manuscripts in 19. 4, which virtually give *tributorum auctionem* (or *-es*) *inaequalitatem onerum*. In 28. 2 *remigrante* of Puteanus (mss. "*remigante*") seems very probable; it simply means 'returning': cf. Cic. Fam. ix. 18. 4. The simplest remedy of 34. 3 is to suppose a small lacuna *extremo metu corpora defixa* < *fixere aciem in his vestigiis*. In 36. 2, there is no reason to reject the mss. *foedare* (cp. Plaut. Amph. 246) for *fodere*: in 37. 4, perhaps "*ntem*" conceals *temere* rather than *idem*: and in 38. 1, Schoene's *Britanni <ubi>que palantes*, for "*Britannique palantes*" at least deserved mention. It is deeply to be deplored that the Toledo ms. is not yet accessible; as it will probably throw some light on the many serious corruptions of this most interesting treatise.

We think that in Dialogus 10. 4 a mention should have been made of Andresen's *altiorum* for "*aliarum*": but we think Mr. Furneaux is certainly right in ejecting "*ex his*" and "*expressis*" in §§ 7 and 8 of that chapter. Possibly in § 6 "*aut*" should be altered to "*autem*," either = 'on the other hand' (cf. Brix on Plaut. Menaech. 1090, and perhaps 32. 1 below), or = 'now,' like the Greek *δη*, a usage common in Plautus and Terence: cf. for example

Adelph. 185. We could have wished that the difficult ms. reading in 18. 5, *attritum* (which can be defended: cf. Plin. Ep. v. 10. 3: ix. 35. 2: Quintil. x. 4. 4, quoted by Peterson) had not been postponed in favour of the easy *aridum*, however suitable that word may be as far as the sense goes. Mention should have been made of Peterson's *quique alii omnes* in 21. 1. Possibly in 22. 5 we should read *ol<eum redol>entia*: cf. what Pytheas said of Demosthenes (Plut. Dem. 8. 3) that his arguments ἐλλυχνίων ὄζειν: and in 26. 3 the desperate corruption "sicut his ela," possibly conceals *saeculi huius*: cf. Cic. Phil. ix. 13.

There are excellent indices of proper names. As the work issues from the Clarendon Press, it is superfluous to praise the printing and general external appearance.

A History of Spain, by U. R. BURKE, M.A., Second Edition, with Additional Notes and an Introduction by MARTIN A. S. HUME, in 2 vols. 1900. Longmans, Green & Co.

THE second edition of Mr. Ulick Burke's valuable "History of Spain" differs in no important respect from the first. The *format* is smaller, and the chapters on the Bullfight, Architecture, the Monetary System, and Music, have been translated to the end of the second volume. We think that Mr. Burke was right in his instinct to attempt to work these subjects into his text, but it must be owned that he did not wholly succeed; they bore the air of an interruption, and it is better that they should wear the air of an appendix. Mr. Hume, who hopes that the work "may be regarded as a classic," has corrected mistakes which the author would have corrected himself, if he had lived, and has added a few additional footnotes of his own.

In his preface Mr. Hume insists upon the fact that "the social impress that the Romans left upon the people has never been obliterated or greatly diminished." It is true; and it brings us to one great defect in Mr. Burke's book, namely, his inadequate treatment. He had not investigated Roman civilisation in Spain, in its full length and breadth and depth; Hispania Romana is dismissed in about ten pages. If the Roman period has exerted such a permanent influence over the subsequent history, then surely the historian is bound to set forth fully what is known of the condition of the country and the municipalities under Roman government. Mr. Burke was aware of the important documents of Julia Genetiva, Salpensa, and Malaca; but he dismissed them in a note. The

early chapters are the weakest part of the work, and an editor would have been justified in dealing more freely with them than Mr. Hume has thought it right to do. On p. 10 the reader is left to suppose that Saguntum may have something to do with Zacynthus. On p. 8 the note on Tarshish is not up to date. The author was right in identifying it with Tartessus; but it is perfectly useless to refer to persons like Depping, Marina, or Dean Stanley, whose authority is of no account in such a matter; while the reference, which is at once necessary and sufficient, to a paper by M. Th. Reinach, is omitted.

We cannot think that the editor's note on the Iberian question is illuminating. It would have been well if he had withheld his hand here; for a writer who talks of the Celtiberians as "speaking some form of Sanskrit, more or less closely allied to what we know as Celtic," shows that he is absolutely ignorant of Indo-European philology, and totally incompetent to speak on the problems of prehistoric Europe.

The new Priscillian documents were unknown to Mr. Burke (p. 60), they seem to be likewise unknown to Mr. Hume.

But the early periods, in which Mr. Hume is not at home, form but a small fraction of the work, which on the whole could not have found a fitter or more capable editor.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Notes on Cicero <i>Ad Atticum XIV.</i> J. S. REID, HON. LITT.D.,	243
The Hellenic Element in the Epistle to the Hebrews. ALEX- ANDER R. EAGER, D.D.,	263
" <i>Ἀτακτα</i> " on Cicero's Letters. J. S. REID, HON. LITT.D., .	288
Notes on the Annals of Tacitus. L. C. PURSER, LITT.D., .	303
Fragment of a Greek Romance. J. GILBART SMYLY, M.A., .	322
Two Passages in Sophocles. J. B. BURY, M.A.,	331
The Greek MSS. used by St. Jerome. J. H. BERNARD, D.D.,	335
Horace, Ode iv, 4, and the Second Aeneid: some remark- able resemblances. H. T. JOHNSTONE,	343
Notes and Emendations on Varro <i>De Lingua Latina</i> . ROBIN- SON ELLIS, HON. LL.D.,	353
Note on an Arabic MS. of the <i>Durr Almasun</i> of Ibrahim B. 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Kaysarani. STANLEY LANE- POOLE, LITT.D.,	364
Swiftiana in Marsh's Library. NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, B.D.,	369
Latin Verbs in <i>-io</i> with Infinitives in <i>-ere</i> . CHARLES EXON, B.A.,	382
Review of Ridgeway's <i>Early Age of Greece</i> . GEORGE COFFEY, B.A.,	403
Other Reviews,	415-438

HERMATHENA.

NOTES ON CICERO *AD ATTICUM XIV.*

Ep. 2. § 2. altera epistula de Madaro scripta, apud quem nullum φαλάκωμα (so Med., but φ written over an erasure), ut putas; processit enim, sed minus, diutius sermone enim sum retentus.

CICERO writes from the house of Matius (Madarus), about three or four weeks after Caesar's murder. In the preceding letter, written the day before *ep.* 2, Cicero had given Atticus a brief account of a conversation with his host, which had disclosed alarming matter. The gentle and scholarly friend of Caesar declared that the assassination had "ruined everything," and this he said "with an air of joy" (*gaudens*). His behaviour is unfavourably compared with that of Oppius who "loquitur nihil quod quemquam bonum offendat"; words curiously like those used a few months later by Matius himself (*Fam.* 11, 28, 1): *Conscius mihi eram nihil a me commissum esse quod boni cuiusquam offenderet animum*. In *ep.* 3, 1 we learn that Matius regarded a new civil war as certain; and in *ep.* 4, 1 Cicero asks what the rest of the Caesareans must be saying, if the usually mild Matius could talk thus. A great many different views have been taken both of the general drift, and of the details of the passage quoted above. One thing is certain from the letters written about this time, that Atticus (a

friend of Matius) was also rendered uneasy by the conversation. He at once questioned Cicero about some points which were not clear to him. The clue to the general sense seems to be given by the words *diutius sermone sum retentus*, "he button-holed me in talk for a long time." With these words *processit*, the reading of the MSS., agrees well: "he went ahead," i.e., he talked without reserve. Atticus, we may naturally suppose, misled by Cicero's brevity, had suggested that Matius had spoken hurriedly and had been misunderstood. With this general drift the Greek word written by Cicero, and now hidden beneath *φαλάκωμα* (Med.) or *σαλάκωμα* (ed. Rom. &c.), must have been in accord. The distortion is of course traceable to the presence of *φαλάκρωμα* a few lines below. That the missing word is *λακωνισμόν* is suggested by a very similar passage in Fam. 11, 25, 2: non imitor *λακωνισμόν* tuum; altera iam pagella procedit. If we read *nullum λακωνισμόν*, the accusative depends on some prohibitive phrase not expressed: "don't imagine any enigmatic brevity, as your letter assumes." (Compare Att. 10, 10, 3 habes *στυγῆν Λακωνικήν*.) By *retentus* Cicero intimates that the conversation was one from which he would fain have escaped; it was Matius who would not stop. But the reading *sed minus* is impossible, whether we keep *processit* or change it to *processi*. Cicero, I think, wrote *minui*: "I made less of it (in writing to you) than I might have done." In Latin rhetorical writings *minuere* frequently represents *μειοῦν*, with much the same sense as I suppose it to bear here. One more point. Most editors have justly regarded the position of *enim* after *sermone* as intolerable. A survey of the examples of *enim* "tertio loco positum," which are placed by themselves s.u. *enim* in Merguet's two Lexica, brings to light none which are exactly on a level with this. In many instances the second word is a part of *esse* to which *enim* attaches itself enclitically; in others *enim* is preceded by a

verb with a negative, or a preposition with its case, or by some other simple combination in which the two parts are connected together very closely. Either *enim* is a corruption (a very common one) for *eius*, as Tyrrell and Purser suppose, or (more probably, I think) the position of *enim* has been altered by the scribes. Originally the text may have had *diutius enim sum sermone retentus*, or *d. sum enim s. r.* It is a trick of Cicero's style to keep apart the two elements of the compound tenses of passive or deponent verbs; while on the side of the copyists there was a tendency to change the order of words so as to bring the two elements into proximity.

2. § 3. habes igitur *φάλακρωμα* inimicissimum oti, id est Bruti.

The Dublin editors imply in their note that *id est*, used thus correctively, is less usual than *hoc est*. The case is rather the reverse, at all events in the Letters: see the examples quoted in a note of mine on Academ. 1, 5, some of which are closely parallel.

3. § 1. rumore adferunt magnum Romae domum ad Antonium frumentum omne portari.

"This is the proper Latin for 'to Antony's house,' not *ad domum Antonii*" (Tyrrell and Purser). But the genitive is not very uncommon; see Caes. B.C. 2, 18, 2: arma in domum Galloni contulit; Cic. in Cat. 1, 8; Q. Rosc. 26; Off. 3, 112.

4. § 2. si noui nihil, nostro more tamen, ne patiamur intermittere litterulas. Equidem non committam.

So the passage should be punctuated, the *ne*-clause being dependent. *Nostro more*, sc. *scribamus*, i.e. day by day: cf. Att. 5, 7, 1; or more than once a day: cf. Att. 13, 23, 1. For *patiamur* contrasted with *committam* cf. 13, 42, 1.

5. § 2. (uides) eos qui orbis terrae custodiis non modo saepti uerum etiam magni sedebant (so Med. prim. man.) tantum modo laudari atque amari, sed parietibus contineri.

The vulgate reading for *magni sedebant* is *magni esse debebant*, and among the many emendations that have been proposed, none involves so small a change. It cannot be said that *magni* is impossible, implying as it does that the guardian care of the whole world should have guaranteed to the heroes (the "tyrannoctoni") not only safety but greatness, of course with its accompanying power. For *magni* compare Att. 2, 9, 2: uidebis breui tempore *agnos* non modo eos qui nihil titubarunt, sed illum ipsum qui peccauit, Catonem. Among corrections most favoured is that of Manutius, adopted by Tyrrell and Purser, viz., *uagi esse debebant*. Used thus absolutely *uagi esse* suggests exile rather than freedom. The passages commonly quoted in support are far different: Att. 7, 11, 5: uagus esse cogitabam, "I think of roaming"; ib. 14, 8, 2: spero (Brutum) iam tuto uel solum tota urbe uagari posse. Indeed just at this time Brutus was free enough to "wander" abroad, but not to show his face in the forum; and *uagi esse*, without some further definition, could scarcely be restricted to the city. When Dolabella hurled from the Tarpeian rock and crucified those who had worshipped at the column erected in Caesar's honour, Cicero thought for a moment that Brutus had gained the desired freedom; cf. Att. 14, 16, 2: mihi quidem uidetur Brutus noster iam uel coronam auream per forum ferre posse. Clearly, then, *uagi esse* is unsuitable. In the place of *magni esse* C. F. W. Mueller puts *tecti esse*, a conjecture which has nothing to recommend it, either on palæographical grounds, or from considerations of sense. If a word of the same class as *saepti* is to be substituted for *magni*, it should be a stronger word than *saepti*, not a weaker, and looking to the palæographical probabilities, *muniti* would be preferable. Compare Tusc. 5, 41: uolumus

eum qui beatus sit, tutum esse, inexpugnabilem, saeptum atque munitum; Pro imp. Cn. Pomp. 65: domum clausam ac munitam; Sest. 95: stipatus sicariis, saeptus armatis, munitus indicibus; Verr. 2, 5, 39: nullius domus clausa, nullius uita saepta, nullius pudicitia munita; Fin. 1, 51.¹

5. § 3. uelim scire quid aduentus Octauī, num qui concursus ad eum.

C. F. W. Mueller expresses surprise that the MSS. reading *quid* should be defended, and refers to a note of his own in which are collected instances of the confusion in MSS. of forms belonging to *qui quis*. There is no scholar whose opinion in the general way on a question of usage, such as this, deserves more respect than that of Mueller. But he seems to have overlooked an idiomatic employment of *quid*, meaning "what of . . .?" "how about . . .?" or "what are we to think of . . .?" which here appears in the indirect construction. The force is often that of *quale*, and indeed the two words are sometimes interchanged, as in Lucret. 4, 118. In a note on Academ. 2, 76: quid Cyrenaici tibi uidentur?, I have collected examples, all containing the verb *uideri*, but instances with *esse* are common enough. In Phil. 2, 75 the MSS. give *tu uero quid es?* This has been variously emended, and Mueller himself says of the reading "uerum esse non credo." If the judgment were correct, emendations of many passages would ensue, including the familiar one: "Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem," Hor. Sat. 1, 6, 55. Compare also Ovid, Pont. 1, 6, 11 and Her. 12, 31 (where *quid* should probably be read: see Palmer's note). Some cognate passages in Virgil have given unnecessary trouble to editors. Thus Conington, commenting on "quid tua sancta fides?" ("what are we to think of your sacred promise?") in Aen. 7, 365, says that it is hard to

¹ The order of the words in Har. resp. 15: munita atque saepta is suspicious.

explain the ellipse. There can be no doubt that *est* should be supplied. Even in Aen. 3, 339: *quid puer Ascanius?* ("what of the lad A.?") the ellipse is more probably that of *est* than of *agit*; cf. Hor. Carm. 4, 8, 22, "*quid foret Iliæ Mauortisque puer,*" and Cic. Acad. 2, 89.

7. § 1. *postridie idus Paulum in Caietae uidi. Is mihi de Mario et de p. aliqua quaedam sane pessima.*

So Med.; but *in* before *Caietae* has been scored out. The reading *in Caietae* appears to be a conflate one, derived from *in Caieta* on the one hand, and *Caietae* on the other. Editors generally have preferred *Caietae*; but there seems to be good reason for accepting *in Caieta*. It is well known that locatives from many names (*e.g.* those from names like *Baiæ*, *Bauli*) were seldom or never used in the time of Cicero. And it appears from other passages that *Caietae* was unacceptable. See Att. 8, 3, 6: *navis et in Caieta nobis est parata et Brundisii*; *ib.* 1, 3, 2: *signa quae nobis curasti, ea sunt ad Caietam exposita*; De Orat. 2, 22: *solet narrare Scaeuola conchas eos (sc. Scipionem et Laelium) et umbilicos ad Caietam et ad Laurentum legere consuesse*. It is curious that Valerius Maximus, in making use of the passage last quoted, writes (8, 8, 1): *constat eos Caietae et Laurenti uagos litoribus conchulas et umbilicos lectitasse*. The locative *Caietae* occurs in inscriptions, and is given by Weissenborn and most editors in a somewhat doubtful passage of Livy (40, 2, 4): *nuntiatum erat et a Formiis aedem Apollinis Caietae de caelo tactam*. The evidence of MSS. points rather to a reading *ac Caietae*, but this necessitates the not very probable supposition that at Formiae Apollo and Caieta possessed a common temple. The quotations given above from Cicero suggest that *ac Caietae* is an error for *ad Caietam*. And probably *ad Caietam* should be substituted for *ab Caieta* in Seneca Suas. 6, 17: *ab Caieta*

nauem consensurus. In any case Seneca eschewed *Caietae*. In Att. 14, 7, 1, reading *in Caieta*, it would be possible to understand by *Caieta* Cicero's villa at the place; cf. 1, 4, 3: *Caietam* . . . ornabo (where many editors change *Caietam* into *Caietanum* without need). So Att. 12, 32, 3: *mercedes Argileti et Aventini*. The substitution of the name of a place for the name of a villa there, seems to occur in Att. 12, 40, 3: *si quis requirit . . . cur non sim in eis meis praediolis quae sunt huius temporis; quia frequentiam illam non facile ferrem; ibi sum igitur ubi is qui optimas Baias habebat, quotannis hoc tempus consumere solebat*. This has been generally supposed to mean that the person in question deemed *Baias* the best of watering places; but *Baias optimas habere*, in that sense, is a strange expression. More probably the meaning is that he had a most excellent house there. In the same manner Cicero, in Att. 14, 8, 1, denotes by *actae nostrae* the estates denoted in 12, 40, 3, by *meis praediolis*. The word *actae* appears to be restricted to villas on the coast of the bay of Naples, and may have been a local phrase in use there. In Att. 14, 8, 1, the villas at Astura and Caieta are not reckoned among *actae*. Compare too Cael. 35: *Baias, actas*, with the context. Prof. Purser points out to me that Mommsen, on C. I. L. 10, p. 603, says: "*Caieta suam rempublicam non habuit, unde boni auctores in Caieta magis dicunt quam Caietae.*" L. Havet, in "*Révue de Philologie*," 1887 (pp. 75 ff.) says that the proposition is inserted because Caieta is treated as a port.

For *de p. aliqua* the correct reading doubtless is *de re publica aliqua*, "about a certain affair of state," viz. the proposal by Antony of a law to confirm Caesar's *acta*.

8. § 1. *optime tam etiam Bruto nostro probari Antonium.*

Tam is retained by Boot, and Tyrrell and Purser, but changed to *iam* by most editors; rightly, I think, since

tam in the sense of *tanto opere*, with a verb, appears to have been restricted, by Cicero at least, to negative sentences.

10. § 1. *meministine clamare illo ipso primo Capitolino die senatum in Capitolium a praetoribus uocari.*

Editors generally insert *me* before *clamare*; but a passage in 15, 11, 2 rather suggests *clamari*. Then the question arises, can *clamare* be constructed with an accusative and infinitive like *postulare*? The caprices of the Latin language with regard to the employment of infinitive-clauses and *ut*-clauses are numerous; but in face of the fact that the accusative and infinitive construction with *peto*, *oro*, *rogo*, *precor*, and other verbs, more or less analogous to *clamo*, is post-Ciceronian, it is over-bold to stand by the MSS. here. It seems to be of little use to appeal to the same construction, commonly employed after *censere*, or to the reading of the *prima manus* in Med. at Att. 4, 18, 4 (16, 12): Cato affirmat se uiuo illum non triumphare; or to phrases like *imusne sessum*? There is no question in our passage of a vivid substitution of present for future. Nor can we well suppose that Cicero or others shouted out "primo Capitolino die," that the Senate *was going to be summoned*. Most editors insert *oportere* before *uocari*, and *oportuisse* occurs twice in the parallel passage of 15, 11, 2. But it would be better to place *debere* after *die*, in which position contraction would bring it into similarity with *die*, and cause its disappearance. A passage which is defective in like manner, though it seems not to have been questioned, is ep. 20, 5: *audes dicere μή πολιτεύεσθαι*. Here no rendering is possible which accords with grammar or sense, and *decere*, or *debere*, must have fallen out after *dicere*.¹

¹ *Expeto*, followed by accusative and infinitive, is found in a fragment of Ennius, and in Plautus, and in Livy, and later writers, but only once in

11. § 2. cras mane uadit.

The employment of *uadere* here and in 4, 10, 2 for *discedere* is an example of the mild jocosity which substitutes unusual for usual words. Parallels are abundant in the "slang" of all languages. In Cicero's correspondence are to be found many examples, as *raudusculum*, "the penny-fee," and *ambulare* in Att. 8, 14, 1; 9, 4, 3; 7, 1, 1 (ut philosophi ambulant). In the remnants of Latin, older than the works of Cicero, *uadere* is rare; Ennius has it twice, Accius twice, Lucilius once, Terence not at all, and the dictionaries supply no example from Plautus, nor have I noted any. It occurs in a high-flown piece of rhetoric in the treatise "Ad Herennium." Catullus uses the word twice; in Lucretius, I think, there is no instance. In Cicero, outside the Letters, *uadere* appears only in a curious passage of Tusc. Disp., viz. 1, 97, which has been very commonly supposed to be corrupt. After telling the famous story of the death of Theramenes, with the *propinatio* of the hemlock to Critias, Cicero passes to the death of Socrates: uadit enim in eundem carcerem atque in eundem paucis post annis scyphum Socrates eodem scelere iudicum quo tyrannorum Theramenes. The rare use of *uadit* seems to be sound. Theramenes, "coniectus est in carcerem"; Socrates marches thither of his own will. The word *uadit* was chosen because, as Moser said, it bears the sense of *animose incedit*. That *uadit in scyphum* would never, by itself, have been written by Cicero is certain; the question whether it comes within the proper limits of zeugma has been disputed. To me it seems a simpler example of zeugma than many which have been retained in our texts without debate. The expression

Cicero's writings, viz. Q. Fratr. 1, 1, 2 dum nostram gloriam tua uirtute augeri expeto; the reading of the prim. man.

of Med. *expedito*, suggests corruption, perhaps from *spe ducor*.

uadit in carcerem recalls *ire in eculeum* (Tusc. 5, 14); Socrates advances to meet the terror of the prison and the poison-cup as of enemies to whom his spirit will not yield.¹

12. § 1. *uerum illuc refero.*

Editors generally read *referor* or *me refero*. The former would only be suitable if there were something in the context to show that the subject in question was one to which Cicero returned *unwillingly*. For the latter cf. Academ. 2, 66: *mox referam me in ordinem*. C. F. W. Mueller reads *redeo*, but the corruption of the word into *refero* would not be easy. It is better to adopt *reuertor*. The transition from that to *refero* may have been caused by a similarity of sound which led to the substitution of *f* for *v* and consequent correction. Madvig has rightly rejected the theory which would account for many errors in MSS. by supposing that copying from dictation was common among the scribes. But that a likeness between sounds unconsciously misleads the hand in writing is a fact familiar enough. Madvig himself (*Adversaria* 2, 79) emends a passage of Ovid on the assumption that *v* and *f* have been interchanged. Compare the confusion between *uestigium* and *fastidium* in Seneca, *Dial.* 2, 6, 8.

12. § 2. *nobiscum hic perhonorifice et peramice Octavius. Quem quidem sui Caesarem salutabant, Philippus non; itaque ne nos quidem, quem nego posse bonum ciuem; ita multi circumstant, qui quidem nostris mortem minitantur, negant haec ferri posse.*

That it is not necessary to insert *item* after *non* is proved by a number of parallels, some of which are quoted by C. F. W. Mueller in cr. note; others are given by Seyffert-

¹ It is curious that Ussing, in a recent paper on Vitruvius, should have treated the use of *uadere* for *ire* as a

mark of late fabrication. It is common after Cicero's time.

Müller, Laelius, p. 122. Examples not given by these scholars are Att. 6, 1, 6: quod si cuiquam, huic tamen non; *ib.* 8, 3, 5: eam (fugam) si nunc sequor, quonam? cum illo non; Brut. 255: hanc autem, inquit, gloriam . . . tuae quidem supplicationi non, sed triumphis multorum antepono (where Weidner, in "Philologus," 1879, proposed, unacceptably, *minus* for *non*). Also Sen. Rhet. contr. 7, 4, 5. The abrupt *non*, without verb, for "no," is found in Cicero's writings; though Draeger, Hist. Synt., § 84, says, "der Klassicismus hat es vermieden." Compare Verr. act. pr. 20; Q. Rosc. 41; S. Rosc. 54; Fam. 4, 9, 3; also Ad Herenn. 3, 33, and 4, 33; Varro, de r. r. 1, 9, 7, and 3, 11, 1.

On the other hand, the addition of *esse* after *posse* is a necessity. Gurlitt's proposal (supported by Tyrrell and Purser) to understand *quem nego posse bonum ciuem salutare Caesarem*, seems to me to be out of harmony with the context. Cicero clearly indicates by *itaque* that he refrained from the salutation, not because he claimed to be a *bonus ciuis*, but because Philippus refrained. Moreover, Gurlitt's explanation deprives the succeeding words *ita multi . . . posse* of all their point.

12. § 2. Romam . . . ubi nostri liberatores tuti esse non possunt.

Cicero's usage is strongly in favour of reading *tuto* here.

12. § 2. Itaque exire aueo "ubi nec Pelopidarum" inquit.

It is strange that many editors (including the latest) should regard *inquit* here as corrupt. There are scores of passages in which *inquit* is referred to a person not explicitly named, but easily understood, as here. Tyrrell and Purser think that the sense "as the saying is" would call for *inquiunt*; but *inquit* for *inquit aliquis* is often found; quotations are given in my note on Academ. 2, 79. Some

of the references collected there supply ample defence for *inquit*, the reading of Med. pr. man. in Att. 7, 9, 3: 'at tum imbecillus plus,' inquit, 'ualuit quam tota res publica,' as against *inquis* (Med. man. sec.) adopted by most editors. The sudden transition from the second to the third person has given offence, but the impatient *inquit*, 'quoth he,' is sometimes addressed to a person present. There is a very similar transition in Hor. Sat. 2, 2, 94-99. The subject to be supplied here to *inquit* may be either the poet or the character in the play who speaks the words quoted. In the latter case cf. Lael. 98: 'magnas uero agere gratias Thais mihi?' satis erat respondere 'magnas'; 'ingentis' inquit. And the reading of the MSS. in Tusc. 1, 31, where *ut ait in Synephebis* follows a quotation, may very well be right, though it has often been condemned. In Muren. 26, some archaic legal forms are quoted with the indefinite *inquit* tacked on to them. Compare, too, Pro Tullio 50: furem . . . luce occidi uetant XII tabulae; cum intra parietes tuos hostem certissimum teneas, nisi se telo defendit, inquit, . . . non occides.

12. § 3. quam dudum nihil habeo quod ad te scribam! Scribo tamen, non ut delectem his litteris. . . .

There is no need to insert *te* before *delectem* here, as it is easily supplied from the context; so in Fam. 4, 4, 5 (where Harl. has *te*); and in Att. 4, 18, 2 (16, 10) it is equally easy to understand *me*. Whether the style of the epistles admits the absolute use of *delectare*, as is thought by Lehmann and others, is doubtful. The proofs adduced are not convincing. C. F. W. Mueller (on Fam. 4, 4, 5) refers to *consolabere* in Fam. 11, 11, 2: maleuolentiae hominum in me, si poteris, occurres; si non potueris, hoc consolabere, quod. . . . But all the extant instances of *consolari* = *c. se* are of later date than the time of Cicero. Why not under-

stand *consolabere malevolentiam*? The use of *consolari aliquid* for *c. aliquem de aliqua re* is familiar enough.

12. § 3. haec conscripsi X Kal. accubans apud Vestorium, hominem remotum a dialecticis, in arithmeticis satis exercitatum.

This passage has generally been taken to mean that Vestorius was an ignorant man of business; erroneously, I believe. He appears elsewhere as a cultivated man. Cicero admired his "Latin Atticism" (Att. 4, 19 (17), 1), a phrase which may fairly be taken to mean that the fruits of Greek culture were apparent in his use of the Latin tongue. Some words in Att. 15, 4, 3 make it probable that he was an Epicurean: "ut in Saufei eam relinquamque Tusculanas disputationes, ad quas tu etiam Vestorium hortaris." The Epicurean school is jestingly called the school of Saufei, and Atticus, an Epicurean, is represented as urging another Epicurean to read the "Tusculan Disputations." The expression *remotum a dialecticis* now becomes intelligible; Vestorius spurned dialectics along with Epicurus, who ejected it from his philosophy. Philosophical topics were often discussed at the dinner-table; and at the dinner in question Vestorius probably insisted on the topics being ethical or physical. I venture to make an attempt to throw some light on another passage (one of the darkest in these letters) connected with Vestorius. It is in 14, 14, 1: ioca tua plena facetiarum de haeresi Vestoriana et de Pherionum more Puteolano risisse me satis nihil est necesse rescribere. I suppose that, just as Cicero, in the words quoted above, described the Epicurean school as "the school of Saufei," so Atticus called it "the sect of Vestorius." What lies hidden under *pherionum* is hard to guess. The termination *-um* may have been added when some Greek word in the genitive plural had been degraded to *pherion*. I suggest *φυσικῶν*, and think that Atticus laughed at the manner in which the Epicureans of Puteoli discussed physical problems.

13. § 2. restat ut in castra Sexti aut, si forte, Bruti nos conferramus: *res odiosa et aliena nostris aetatibus et incerto exitu belli*.

Two reasons appear to be given for the statement that to join a camp is *res odiosa*; (1) because Cicero and Atticus are too old for a military life (compare ep. 19, 1); and (2) because the issue of the war is uncertain. But the sense required is not properly expressed by the words. Tyrrell and Purser (with Klotz) read *est* for *et* before *incerto*. This reading seems to give a wrong form to the sentence. The *incertus exitus belli* now becomes the reason why joining the camp is *res odiosa* and *res aliena aetatibus nostris*. But camp-life would be unsuitable for elderly men, even if the upshot of the war were certain. C. F. W. Mueller proposes but does not print *et incertus exitus belli*. This again upsets the sentence; *res odiosa* and *res aliena* are phrases in apposition to the preceding passage, but *incertus exitus belli* is different and not to be connected with the other two by an *et*. With this reading it would be necessary to place a full stop at *aetatibus*. The corruption of the text must be traceable to one of two things. Either (1) *quod* or perhaps *quia* has been lost before *aliena*, or (2) *belli* is a gloss. Of these alternatives (2) is the better; *incerto exitu* becomes an adjectival phrase qualifying *res*, and parallel with *odiosa* and *aliena*. With (1) there is a change of construction which could be justified, but is somewhat harsh. I think it may be fairly said of *belli* (in the old scholars' jargon), "glossam sapit."

13. § 6. Antonius ad me scripsit . . . quam dissolute, quam turpiter, quamque ita perniciose, ut non numquam Caesar desiderandus esse uideatur, facile existimabis.

That *ita* is sound (though it has been expected) may be seen by comparison with Academ. 2, 55.

13 A. § 1. occupationibus est factum meis et subita tua profectio, ne tecum coram de hac re agerem : quam ob causam uereor ne absentia mea leuior sit apud te.

Scholars have often been hasty in pointing out supposed divergences between the Latinity of Cicero in his letters and that of his correspondents. In the passage just quoted there is nothing noticeable in the construction *factum . . . ne*, which occurs in Verr. 3, 81 ; also 5, 5 ; Balb. 32 ; a fragment ap. Non. 283 ; and often in later writers. On the other hand, it is possible that we have here the earliest example of *absentia* (the word is probably in the ablative, the subject to *sit* being *res*). There are indeed two places where our texts of Cicero present the word, which is avoided by Caesar, Sallust, Livy and some other writers near their time. Both passages of Cicero are in the speech In Pisonem. The first is in § 37 and runs thus in the ancient Vatican MS. (Halm's V) : confer te nunc, Epicure, ex hara producte non ex schola, confer, si audes, absentiam tuam cum mea. Editors generally omit *te* with the later MSS. I believe that the word should be kept, and *absentiam tuam cum mea* excised as a gloss. It is true that Arusianus Messius (Gram. Lat. vii. 462, ed. Keil) found the words in MSS. existent in the fourth century ; but the speech is grievously defiled by additions, some of which are of very ancient date, and probably the text had become polluted to some extent in this manner, even by the fourth century. In § 63, again we find : " iam uides et digressum meum et absentiam et reditum ita longe tuo praestitisse." In the earlier passage Piso is invited to compare his absence from Rome with that of Cicero ; in the latter it is implied that the comparison had been made for him by Cicero in the speech ; but in the intervening space, there is not a word about Cicero's *absentia*. This clearly shows that both references to it are spurious. In § 63 *absentiam* appears to have crept in from a gloss on *digressum*. In § 37 the gloss may have arisen because the employment of

conferre with a personal object, and *without* a *cum*-clause following, was misunderstood. When the gloss is removed, we may compare § 63: *quoniam quidem ita egomet mihi fui inimicus ut me tecum compararem*.

13 A. § 2. P. Clodium optima in spe puerum repositum.

Tyrrell and Purser say that we have here "a rather anomalous modification of the common phrase *spem reponere in aliquo*." But the phrase ceases to look unnatural when we remember *aliquis est in spe* beside *aliquid est in spe*. So side by side with *ponere* or *reponere aliquid in spe* (Att. 13, 22, 4) there may well have existed *ponere* or *reponere aliquem in spe*.

13 A. § 3. *patere, obsecro, te pro re publica uideri gessisse simultatem cum patre eius, non contempseris hanc familiam; honestius enim et libentius deponimus inimicitias rei publicae nomine susceptas quam contumaciae.*

There is nothing in the Latinity either of this letter of Antony's or of the others by him, which are extant, to justify the belief that he could have written *non contempseris*. In a well-known passage (Phil. 13, 43), Cicero rates him for *pissimus*, but that is "another story." And a close examination shows that *non contempseris* yields no satisfactory meaning. Just as the words *pro r. p.* . . . are parallel to *inimicitias . . . susceptas*, so must *non . . . familiam* (as originally written) have corresponded to *quam contumaciae*. And a prohibition against despising the Clodian family is, in the circumstances, inept. C. F. W. Mueller also points out that, with the MSS. reading, *enim* is meaningless. The emendation *non quo contempseris* (often adopted) is unsatisfactory, as an effort to construe it will show; *non quod c.* (Mueller) is certainly better. But I prefer to read *contempsisse*; the confusion of verbal endings, common everywhere, is widely spread in the MSS. of the letters.

In Att. 10, 8, 5, where MSS. give *non . . . transierimus*, and elaborate corrections have been proposed, it is only necessary to change one letter, reading *transieramus*. [The remark of Tyrrell and Purser, that Quintilian 1, 5, 50, "mentions the use of *non feceris* for *ne feceris* as a common error," is not quite correct. His words are: "et 'an' et 'aut' coniunctiones sunt, male tamen interroges 'hic aut ille sit,' et 'ne' ac 'non' aduerbia: qui tamen dicat pro illo 'ne feceris,' 'non feceris,' in idem incidat uitium, quia alterum negandi est, alterum uetandi." The whole statement is hypothetical, and implies that *non feceris* was as rare as *aut* used for *an* in a dependent interrogation, *i. e.* that it was practically unknown.] As to *contumaciae*, the Dublin editors suppose that Antony wrote the word by a slip of the pen for *contumeliae*. But that *contumacia* often lies very close in meaning to *contumelia* and *superbia*, and indicates insolence and insult, will become obvious on examination of a series of examples. I will only refer here to Att. 15, 15, 2, where *contumacem*, as is shown by the context, means not "obstinate" but "insolent," and is followed up by *superbia*.

13 A. § 3. postremo meo iure te hoc beneficium rogo.

Tyrrell and Purser say—"Böckel remarks that *rogo* with a double substantival accusative is ante-classical. In Cicero this use is never found unless one of the accusatives is a pronoun." The word "neuter" has slipped out here before "pronoun," and the ordinary phrase *rogare aliquem sententiam* has been overlooked; also the use of *rogare*, meaning "to ask a loan," as *e.g.* in Verr. 2, 2, 36. And even outside these limits a double accusative occurs, as in Lael. 40: *neque rogemus res turpes neque faciamus rogati*, where although *amicos* is not expressed, it is to be understood from the context. Cicero's use of

the accusative with *rogo* does not differ much from that of earlier writers; but he has not *rogare aliquid ab aliquo* (Ad Herenn.) nor such a Graecism as "patriam te rogo quae sit tua" (Plaut. Pers. 635).

14. § 1. ioca tua plena facetiarum de haeresi Vestoriana et de Pherionum more Puteolano risisse me satis nihil est necesse rescribere.

For note on this passage, see above on 13. § 3, p. 255.

14. § 2. nam Liberalibus quis potuit in senatum non uenire? Fac id potuisse aliquo modo: num, etiam cum uenissemus, libere potuimus sententiam dicere?

The passage has been generally felt to be difficult, and some corrections have been proposed. I think it is capable of satisfactory explanation as it stands. It must be remembered that Cicero is replying to remarks made by Atticus on the course of events after the death of Caesar. Atticus had declared that the ill success of the senatorial party was not to be laid at the door of the Bruti and of Cassius, but of those who were responsible for what happened at the meeting of the senate on the 17th March. Compare ep. 10, 1: Liberalia tu accusas: quid fieri tum potuit? Iam pridem perieramus. In the present passage Cicero seems to repel two suggestions of Atticus—(1) that it would have been better for those who sympathised with the murderers of Caesar to absent themselves from the meeting; (2) that, having chosen to attend, they might have made a better fight. The answer Cicero makes to (1) is that senators were practically forced to attend; violence would have been used had they hung back (cf. Phil. 1, 12), with regard to (2) he says that in the circumstances those who attended were helpless. The words *fac id potuisse* indicate a concession for sake of argument. Even if the first point be granted to Atticus,

he is wrong about the second. The correction *qui* . . . *potui* is hardly right, as Atticus did not blame Cicero personally, but the whole senatorial party. Cicero speaks in Phil. 2, 89 of his personal unwillingness to attend the session of the senate on the *Liberalia*.

16. § 1. V. Nonas conscendens ab hortis Cluuianis . . . has dedi litteras, cum Piliae nostrae uillam ad Lucrinum, uillicos, procuratores tradidissem. Ipse autem eo die in Paeti nostri tyrotarichum imminebam.

C. F. W. Mueller says of *eo die*, "ferri non posse uidetur, sed scribendum *eodem die*." But *eo die* may well mean "the day of writing this letter"; cf. Att. 5, 2, 1: a. d. vi. idus Maias, cum has dabam litteras, ex Pompeiano proficiscebar, ut eo die manerem in Trebulano apud Pontium. So 7, 16, 2. On the other hand in 16, 10, 1, we have: vii. idus ueni ad me in Sinuessanum; eodem die uolgo loquebantur Antonium mansurum esse Casilini.

21. § 4. postridie apud Hirtium cogitabam (sc. cenare) et quidem πεντέλοιπον: sic hominem traducere ad optimates paro. Ἀἴρος πολὺς.

With this passage must be taken another, viz. 15, 2, 4: πεντέλοιπον mouere ista uidentur.

The explanation of πεντέλοιπον is a notoriously difficult matter. In 14, 21, 4, Cicero is ridiculing the expectation of some of his friends, who seriously thought that Hirtius might be won over to the side of the senate; see 14, 20, 4: Hirtium per me meliorem fieri uolunt; 15, 5, 1: Cassius uero uehementer orat ac petit ut Hirtium quam optimum faciam; sanum putas? 15, 6, 1: cum ad me Brutus noster scripsisset et Cassius, ut Hirtium, qui adhuc bonus fuisset (lacuna) sciebam neque eum confidebam fore mea auctoritate meliorem. I assume πεντέλοιπον to be incapable of

defence. It is incredible that it could have been used to mean "the last man left out of five." The expression which *πεντέλοιπον* conceals serves in 15, 2, 4 as a sobriquet of Hirtius. But it does not seem to have been applied in exactly the same way in 14, 21, 4. The words *et quidem* introduce apparently something which strengthens *cogitabam cenare*, and leads up to the words that follow. Cicero's jest about bringing over Hirtius to the cause of the *optimates* must have had reference to a course of dining (like that of which he speaks in Fam. 9, 16, 7) rather than to a single dinner. Is there any simple correction of *πεντέλοιπον* which will be intelligible in itself and applicable both to 14, 21, 4 and to 15, 2, 4? I think there is, and would read *πᾶν τὸ λοιπόν* in both places. Cicero may be repeating with mockery in the former passage a phrase which Hirtius, the arch-dinner-giver, often addressed to his friends: "dine with me to-morrow, and to the end of the chapter." The expression *πᾶν τὸ λοιπόν* may have stuck to him as a nickname, just as a certain prince of Denmark came to be described as "est-il-possible?"

J. S. REID.

THE HELLENIC ELEMENT IN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

THE influence of Greece on the New Testament is far greater than is generally supposed. Laying aside the ideas of those who lack acquaintance with any Greek, or with any Greek outside the New Testament, it may, I think, be fairly said that most scholars, either classical or Biblical, would hesitate to consider the New Testament, as a whole, in any way Hellenic. Its language has been called a barbarous *patois*. Its writers have been declared purely Hebraist in all their modes of thought. And, if classical scholars have hastily assumed that the contents of the New Testament, both as to thought and language, lie outside their sphere, theologians are often no less bigoted in believing that the New Testament must be taken as purely Jewish. Many believe—and I have heard some say—that there is something almost indecent in the suggestion that the writers of the New Covenant used either classical ideas or Greek philosophy in conveying the message of the Gospel to men.

But there seems no just reason for marking off the New Testament from the whole of Greek literature in this way. Its language is no *patois*. *Some* of its books fall far below the standard of pure Greek: there are strange bits of grammar in the Apocalypse, and the Second Epistle of

defence. It is incredible that it could have been used to mean "the last man left out of five." The expression which πεντέλοιπον conceals serves in 15, 2, 4 as a sobriquet of Hirtius. But it does not seem to have been applied in exactly the same way in 14, 21, 4. The words *et quidem* introduce apparently something which strengthens *cogitabam cenare*, and leads up to the words that follow. Cicero's jest about bringing over Hirtius to the cause of the *optimates* must have had reference to a course of dining (like that of which he speaks in Fam. 9, 16, 7) rather than to a single dinner. Is there any simple correction of πεντέλοιπον which will be intelligible in itself and applicable both to 14, 21, 4 and to 15, 2, 4? I think there is, and would read πᾶν τὸ λοιπόν in both places. Cicero may be repeating with mockery in the former passage a phrase which Hirtius, the arch-dinner-giver, often addressed to his friends: "dine with me to-morrow, and to the end of the chapter." The expression πᾶν τὸ λοιπόν may have stuck to him as a nickname, just as a certain prince of Denmark came to be described as "est-il-possible?"

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But there seems no just reason for marking off the New Testament from the whole of Greek literature in this way. Its language is no *patois*. *Some* of its books fall far below the standard of pure Greek : there are strange bits of grammar in the Apocalypse, and the Second Epistle of

S. Peter is weird and appalling in style. But, as a whole, the language of the New Testament is as honest Greek as the language we speak to-day is honest English. It is not the Greek of Euripides, nor is ours the English of Chaucer. One might as well refuse to call the language of Herodotus Hellenic because it is not Attic.

Again, certain New Testament authors bear individual marks of contact with Hellenism. Just as the Alexandrine dialect was a natural and orderly development from Attic Greek, so those who used that dialect could hardly avoid the influence of Greek thought. The Alexandrine school was a development of Platonism, and the vocabulary and method of S. John's Gospel certainly show traces of Alexandrine influence. So, too, S. Paul, the pupil of that most liberal and most Hellenistic of Rabbis, Gamaliel, distinctly shows "a gentleman's acquaintance" with Greek classical literature. He quotes Aratus (or Cleanthes) with approval, incorporates a line from Menander in one of his most telling arguments, and brands the Cretans with a scathing remark derived from one of their own poets.

None, however, of these effects of Greek influence has any special importance. It was as easy to embody Hebrew thought in Greek as it is to sing "God save Ireland" in English; and, though S. Paul spoke and wrote very excellent Greek, he constantly presses on us the fact that he was a Hebrew of the Hebrews. More significant is the point that, side by side with his claim to pure Jewish blood, we find him constantly declaring that, in religious philosophy, he was a Pharisee. Now Pharisaism, in its best form, was simply the shape taken by Stoicism when combined with Hebrew religious thought, and Stoicism found its way into Judæa by way of Greece. From the hills round Tarsus came several leading doctors of the Painted Porch: of the nature of Gamaliel's teaching there can be no historic doubt; and S. Paul's writings declare his

Stoicism almost as plainly as his Christianity.¹ His use of almost fatalist terms, though not of fatalist *teaching*—all that element in his writings from which Calvin deduced his own very terrible doctrines—his view of *ικανότης*, through Christ and in the Christian, all have their basis in Pharisaism. But the Pharisees learned them from the Stoics.

Still, even in this, we cannot say that we have found *pure* Hellenic thought, for Stoicism was only Hellenic by accident. Zeno was notoriously a Phœnician, and his greatest successors came from Asia Minor and Palestine. So the Phœnician taught the Greek, and the Greek taught the Jew: and in Pharisaism—strangely enough—it was the dread gods of the Kananites that were the ultimate victors.

But there is one book in the New Testament that stands apart from all others. Its vocabulary² is very peculiar,

¹ A full account of the connexion between Pauline theology and Stoicism, through the *via media* of Pharisaism, may be found in Sir Alexander Grant's *Ethics of Aristotle*. It is worth observing that S. Paul himself continued, after his conversion, to call himself a Pharisee; and his doctrine of "election," as given in the Epistle to the Romans, shows distinct traces of Stoicism. But S. Paul's doctrine was not exactly identical with that of the Pharisees, which may be found in several parts of the Gospels. Their doctrine was "harder" than his, and much more markedly Stoic.

² The Epistle to the Hebrews contains about 120 words that are not found elsewhere in the New Testament. Many are absolutely *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*; some occur for the first time here, but are borrowed by later writers. Others have a more remarkable history.

Thus—(α) some are found only in this Epistle, and in the works of Philo and his school. The only tangible date in Philo's life is that of his embassy to Rome (A.D. 39 or 40); but while there seems no good reason to believe that the writer of our Epistle was acquainted with Philo's writings, it seems probable that the works of the latter are somewhat the earlier in date. These words, then, were probably derived by our writer and Philo from a common source. But Philo's object was to reconcile the Old Testament with Greek philosophy, in which he was deeply read: so these words are most probably derived from the lost writings of some Greek philosophers. But (β) many of the peculiar words in the Epistle are recognised technical philosophical terms, Aristotelian or Platonic. Of these I have spoken in the text. (γ) Others, again, though not technical terms, are used in a

and it possesses some strange grammatical idiosyncrasies : yet its language is pellucid, and its arguments clear and straightforward. In its relation to Christian doctrine it is probably the most influential book outside the Gospels : the Nicene Creed, if destroyed and forgotten, could be almost entirely reconstructed from this one anonymous book.¹ But it is practically impossible to account for the

special sense, or as favourite words, by Plato or Aristotle, or by both.

Before noticing some of these most interesting words, it may be well to point out that there are two principal grammatical peculiarities in the Epistle: (1) a very sparing use of the definite article, which I have noticed and commented on in my "City of the Living God." This has no direct bearing on our subject, but (2) the writer shows a marked preference for *active verbals*, and I believe this peculiarity may be traced to his familiarity with philosophic thought.

Among peculiar words, the following are especially worthy of notice :—

αἰσθητήριον. Lit. 'an organ of sense' (*Hippocrates*). In Aristotle, it signifies the perceptive faculties. So, too, in this Epistle. Technical psychological word.

θέλησις. 'Will' ('act of willing'). Not used before this Epistle ; but, by its form, a technical ethical word.

μετριοπαθεῖν. 'To feel with moderation.' Technical, Peripatetic, ethical word, contrasted with the Stoic *ἀπαθεῖν*.

τιμωρία. 'Punishment for the vindication of Justice.' Contrasted by Aristotle with *κόλασις*, 'punishment for reformation.' See x. 29, where it is evidently used carefully and deliberately.

δημιουργός. (lit. 'workman'). A title of God (xi. 10). Used by Philo, the

Non-Platonists, and certain Gnostics, as a name for God as the *orderer* of the world. This sense is derived from Plato.

The more important philosophical terms (such as *τέλειος*, *υπόδειγμα*, &c.) are treated of in the text. *κρείττων* is used twelve times : *τέλος* and its derivatives sixteen times : *συνειδήσις* three times.

¹ In my "City of the Living God," I have compared the clauses of the Nicæo-Constantinopolitan Creed in detail with the Epistle to the Hebrews. The passage is too long to transcribe : but the following points may be mentioned.

(1) Taking the words of the Nicene symbol in order, the following only are unrepresented in the Epistle. *Almighty . . . heaven and earth and of . . . Very God of very God . . . not made . . . by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary . . . under Pontius Pilate . . . and was buried . . . the third day . . . according to the Scriptures . . . with glory to judge the quick and the dead . . . the Lord, and giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father [and the Son] . . . and Apostolick . . . for the remission of sins.*

Thus (2) *All* the Christology of the Creed is represented in the Epistle.

(3) The *biographical* portions relating to Christ are not represented.

(4) The doctrine of the Holy Spirit is rather suggested than directly taught.

vocabulary, or follow the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews, without taking into consideration its relation to Greek thought as the work of a Hellenist whose mind was saturated with Hellenic philosophy.

Who this Hellenistic Jew was is hard to say, but the investigation of the question does not concern us at present. The Epistle can hardly have been written by S. Paul.¹ Luther's conjecture that its author was Apollos is a happy guess—but it remains a guess and no more. Considerations of vocabulary, and a curious resemblance between the styles and general points of view of the writer of this Epistle, and of S. Stephen's speech in the *Acts*, seem to point to S. Luke—a Hellenist from Antioch—as the possible author. No other hypothesis that has yet been presented will be found to be wholly satisfactory, and we must rest content with Origen's final opinion :

(5) The "minor articles" can all be directly supported from this one treatise.

There is certainly no other book in the New Testament with so large a doctrinal scope, and I think it is fair to say that no other had so strong an historical influence in the "age of Definition."

¹ Briefly, we may say that there is evidence of some contact with Pauline thought on the part of the writer, and there is one very curious quotation—not found in the same form in either the Hebrew or the LXX—common to the Epistle and one passage of S. Paul's. "*ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.*" The first two words may be due to a corrupt text of the LXX: "*ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδίκησεως*"; or the whole quotation may have been a current proverb, as little to be found in the Old Testament as "God tempereth the wind to the shorn lamb." The "book of life," the "heavenly city,"

the "foundations," the "New Jerusalem" are also common to this Epistle and S. Paul's writings:—but they are also found in the Apocalypse, and are probably *τέκνοι*.

But the fact that the Epistle is unsigned, though the writer did not endeavour to conceal his identity,—the statement of the writer that he was a learner from those who had been taught by the Apostles,—the whole style,—the general nature of the arguments,—and the philosophical basis of the teaching, as worked out in this paper,—all seem inconsistent with Pauline authorship. The earliest title is simply ΠΡΟΣ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ. There are certain considerations in connexion with S. Luke's writings that incline me strongly to the belief that he may have been the writer: but they are too lengthy to enter on in a note of this kind, resting as they do on a special view as to the nature of S. Luke's Gospel to the other "Synoptists."

τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, Θεὸς οἶδε. It is enough for our purpose to know that the anonymous writer was a thoroughly educated Alexandrine Jew, who habitually used the LXX as his "Bible" and was acquainted with Greek literature; and that he wrote to a Church whose members he supposed to be also acquainted with the same version and the same general literature. Parts of the Epistle are unintelligible to us, and must have been so to its first readers, without a knowledge of the same elements of philosophy as were in the mind of the author.

I believe, and think I can prove, that there are four separate lines of Hellenic metaphysics in the Epistle to the Hebrews, converging to a point in the writer's mind. These four are—(1) Stoicism; (2) Alexandrinism; (3) the philosophy of Aristotle; and (4) the philosophy of Plato. Of the four, the influence of the first and second schools seems to be slight; that of Aristotle is strong; that of Plato is strongest of all.

(1.) The origin of Stoicism has already been described, and its effect on S. Paul made evident. The Epistle to the Hebrews cannot be said to show any so marked effects of Stoicism as the writings of S. Paul. Bishop Lightfoot has shown that the cosmopolitanism of the latter Apostle, the concept of the kingdom of God as a city co-extensive with the world, is due to Stoic influence. This idea strongly pervades the latter part of our Epistle; but, as we find it is also in the Apocalypse, and in S. Paul's writings, it was probably a *ρότος*—a general idea belonging to the whole Church—before the date of this treatise. Again, the severer side of the theology of the Epistle, which has been a great difficulty to many, may, perhaps, be traced to the same source. "Our God is a consuming fire" may be called a Stoic definition of the nature of God. But here, again, the evidence is not decisive; these words occur in the Old Testament, and are probably quoted from

its pages. The other severe passages, however, seem to show a trace of Stoic influence, though, on the whole, the set of the writer's mind is against Stoicism as a system. His deliberate use of so distinctively Peripatetic a word as "*μετριοπαθεῖν*," and his choice of Aristotelian and Platonic terms and modes of thought, seem to point him out as one who knew Stoicism, but was not a Stoic.

(2.) Alexandrinism—the result of Hellenic influence on Jews who lived in the keen, intellectual atmosphere of Egypt—is known chiefly through its greatest light—"Philo the Jew."¹ It has never been shown that there is any direct contact between Philo and him who wrote our Epistle; and, in the latter, Alexandrine influence, though interesting, is slight. There are, however, two passages which it helps us to understand.

(α.) The first of these is the account of the *Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, in cap. IV., vv. 12-13. It is scarcely possible to refer the attributes there predicated of the *Λόγος* to anything but a living, energetic being. One need do no more than point out the connexion of this thought with the *Memra* of the Targums, philosophised as the Alexandrine *Λόγος*.

(β.) But there is a more important and remarkable passage near the beginning of the Epistle, where the Everlasting Son is called "*ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*,"—*τοῦ Θεοῦ*, of course. The first part of this definition, echoed in the "*φῶς ἐκ φωτός*" of the Creed, is intelligible enough, and traces to the Sophia-literature, itself partly Stoic in origin. The second is more difficult, partly through a misunderstanding of the

¹ After the time of Philo, Alexandrinism began to decline. From its ashes rose Neo-Platonism, a system of ascetic theurgy that can hardly be classed as a philosophic school. Neo-Platonic spiritualism bears almost the same

relation to the philosophy of Plato and to Alexandrinism that "Esoteric Buddhism" bears to the teaching of Gautama and to the later Buddhism of Tibet.

word *χαρακτήρ*, and partly through ignorance as to the source of the metaphor.

Χαρακτήρ is not the impression made by a seal, but the figure cut into and inseparable from the seal—an impression is a copy only of the *χαρακτήρ*. The essential part of the seal is the sealing surface; and the seal, as a whole, may be reduced to two parallel—practically coincident—faces, one convex, and the other concave. But the concavity contains an immaterial convexity, or cameo, which generates the material cameo-impression. In this connexion, Bishop Westcott quotes some remarkable words of Philo:—“*ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ τυπωθεῖσα σφραγίδι Θεοῦ, ἥς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν ὁ αἰδιος Λόγος.*” The Bishop quotes the words, and leaves them without comment; but surely they give the key to the meaning of the writer without requiring us to think of the *Λόγος* as a creature. In fact they practically express the same thought that was in Charles Kingsley’s mind, when he taught that it was not a play on words to say that Man was made at the beginning in Christ, because he was made in the image of Christ, and Christ is the image of God. In the phraseology of the writer (and of Philo) man is an *impression* of the seal, but the *Λόγος* is the everlasting cause and possibility of every impression. The *χαρακτήρ* is inherent in the seal, and through His inherence every impression is made.

(3.) But the influence of Aristotle is far more strongly marked than either that of Philo’s School, or the School of the Stoic. To show this, let us look at the argument of the Epistle. Among the principles that underlie it, two stand out prominently—the doctrine of “betterment” (*κρείττων* is certainly a key-word), and the logical theory of *τελείωσις*. It is hardly necessary to say that *τέλος*, and its derivatives, are used by the author in (seemingly) widely different senses, or that he constantly declares the Christian “antitype” is “be-

analogue. Now the doctrines of "betterment," and of the *τέλος*—or "end in itself"—are equally characteristic of Aristotle, and are, indeed, only the two parts of one great Aristotelian principle. Curiously enough, these twin theories grew out of their inventor's recoil from the Platonic doctrine of "Ideas," which, as we shall see presently, had a deeper effect on the writer of our Epistle than all the works of Aristotle put together. It will distinctly help us to understand the question if we see how the theory of the *τέλος* grew, and to what extent it affected its author's and our writer's views of the "nature of things."

Aristotle begins his investigation by examining the "causes" of things, in order to seek there the explanation of their meaning; and everyone knows that he assigns the kinds of causes as *four*.¹ But he soon found that this number could be greatly reduced. Any given thing is obviously the product of its material cause (that out of which it is made) acted on by the efficient, formal, and final causes. Thus the material cause of a statue is the marble; its efficient cause is the sculptor; its formal, the mental image he wishes to embody; its final, the gratification of artistic taste in its maker and in others. But,

¹ It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that the fifth ("instrumental") cause, which is not separated by Aristotle from the "efficient" cause, is represented in both this Epistle and the works of S. Paul. Philosophically, there seems no reason to separate the instrument from the "maker": there is no metaphysical difference between the position of a sculptor's fingers and his tools when used for modelling. But, theologically, the distinction is conspicuously present both in S. Paul's writings and in this Epistle. (1) "Faith" (passing by the

difference in the use of the word by S. Paul and our writer) is marked as *instrumental* only, and (2) the relation of the *Λόγος* to Creation is similarly restricted—in both cases generally by the use of *διὰ* with the genitive. "*διὰ πλάσσεως*" is found, though the dative is used in the Epistle. "*δι' οὗ ἐπολήσεν τοὺς αἰῶνας*." It is nowhere said that Man is saved, or that the Worlds were made, *διὰ τοῦ Πατρός*, or *διὰ Θεοῦ*. Thus the separation of the "fifth cause" is a direct growth of Christian theology.

argues Aristotle, all these three latter causes resolve themselves into one. The sculptor is a sculptor only in so far as he has artistic thoughts and purposes, and these, in their turn, depend on the artistic taste that is to be gratified. Thus the formal cause absorbs the efficient, and is itself a result of the final, cause. So, if you know the material and the final causes of anything, you know all that has to be known to determine it. These two causes are as sufficient for determining any "thing," as a pair of co-ordinates are for fixing a point on a given surface. And since, in the last resort, all material things may be considered as of the same material nature, the *τέλος* is the only cause by which material things differ at all.

But, again, if the final cause can be taken as embodying the whole nature of a thing as distinguished from its matter, this final cause must absolutely coincide with the full *definition* of the thing. For, given the same matter, one thing differs from another only so far as it embodies a different completeness, *i.e.* final cause. And as the definition of a thing, if it could be given fully, should come as the last link in a process by which that thing was absolutely distinguished from all other things, the true definition must be the accurate statement of the final cause. This final cause, in its complete definition, is the *τέλος*—the end-in-itself; and, when this *τέλος* is fully reached, the thing is *τέλειος*.

Bear in mind one point: this is entirely a logical, not a metaphysical process. And it leaves us finally in this position, that the end-in-itself is the same as the definition, and the definition the same as the end-in-itself. The final cause of a thing is its whole nature, and its whole nature its final cause. Up to this point, apparently, *everything* has a definition, and a *τέλος* embodied in this definition; and everything is, in some manner, *τέλειος*, as

it certainly must answer to its definition, whatever that definition may be.

So far, however, one important link is missing from the chain. If things differ from one another (assuming a common material origin) merely by each having a different *τέλος*, how is this differentiation brought about? Why should one piece of universe-matter grow into a man, and another into a tree?

“Wine is vine, and vine-stock wood,
The buck-goat’s horn yields wine as good.”

So sings Mephistopheles, as he bores the table in Auerbach’s cellar; and Mephistopheles is a very keen student of philosophy. To the philosopher *physical* explanations are no good—they must be explained in their turn; and, even as no sentient being can find energetic life unless the even balance between pleasure and pain is in some way disturbed, so, too, the philosophy of the *τέλος* cannot explain nature unless some clue is found to explain the difference between one *τέλος* and another. So Aristotle is driven to find a reasonable explanation, and this he does in the difference between *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια*—between potentiality and actuality. All that actually exists in the perfected thing has always existed in it *potentially*. The *τελείωσις*, or the working out of the *τέλος*, is the bringing of the potentiality into actuality. The ever-progressing creation is the evolution of a chaos of possibilities into a cosmos of actualities.

A system is this with a great and impassable chasm in it—the same system, with the same chasm, that shapes itself, in newer days, into modern *materialistic* evolution. For it deals with *process* only, and, in subsuming all other causes under the final cause, takes away from that all causative energy. Aristotle’s *τέλος* amounts to no more in the end than Mill’s “unconditional immediate sequence”;

the "betterment" by which *τελείωσις* leads from a lower to a higher *τέλος*, is in no way a metaphysical explanation. Whatever "potentialities" may be (and they are even vaguer things than Locke's "Ideas"), Aristotle shows them only as unknown elements, from which Nature, like Topsy, "grewed." The bent of Aristotle's mind resembled that of Mill: both were given to one of the most radical errors that can beset any thinker—that of passing off mere Logic for Ontology. So Mill scoffed at Hegel's dictum, "pure being is the same as pure nothing," by opposing to it the logical statement, "pure being is not nothing, but anything." And so, too, Aristotle substitutes for reality, *definition*! So he tries to pass from logical perfection to absolute existence, and to dig being out of words. From his principles a philosophical sceptic might naturally infer the non-existence of Nature, as nothing in nature is ever really *τέλειος*, while a logician might infer that each separate entity in Nature is perfect—*τέλειος*—since it can in some way be defined. The bridge between thought and nature is impassable; a logic of the imperfect, or of the unreal, may be quite as complete as a geometry of two, or of four dimensions. Nevertheless, the system contains some great truths. "Betterment" is practically "evolution," and, though it does not *account for* growth, it is the natural and necessary *process* of growth. Nothing can be metaphysically *τέλειος* save by reaching a *τέλος*, that may be identified with its final cause: yet we can contemplate any step in the process of *τελείωσις*, and find there a logical *τέλος*, which, for definition and logical apprehension, is sufficiently "real." But evolution, without involution, gives nothing to, and asks nothing from, the doctrine of the metaphysical *τέλος*; it begins somewhere, to be sure, but it ends nowhere or anywhere.

Let us now see how this Aristotelian system is used in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In this Epistle we have a

long argument in which, point by point, the superiority of Christianity over Judaism is shown. In the development of this thought the writer constantly uses the concept of "betterment," and the concept of the *τέλος*, or end-in-itself, both of which are characteristic marks of Aristotelian "Kritik." Christ, *quā* man, is made better (*κρείττων γενόμενος*) than the angels; than Moses, and so forth. The Hebrews are taught that Christianity unfolds into actuality the potentialities of Judaism, and, at last, the whole argument assumes a very striking form. Through betterment comes *τελείωσις*: the "Leader (*ἀρχηγός*) of our salvation" became *τέλειος* through suffering: the Jews, to whom the Epistle is written, have become *τέλειοι* instead of babes. The writer himself works on from the *ἀρχή* of Christianity to its *τελειότης*, until, at last, we are brought face to face with a dim potential world, which his pupils, as *τέλειοι*, are bid to abandon, not because it is false, but because it is only a shadow. Within this world is a better, a more perfect world: beyond, one still better and still more perfect. The religion of God has found *ὁὗτος* *τέλος*; in the attainment of it the living and the spirits of the dead ("the spirits of just men *τετελειωμένων*") find *their* *τέλος*. All are parts of one "end-in-itself": "they without us" cannot be *τέλειοι*: in the last resort the true *τέλος* cannot be attained in full perfection on earth. So runs the argument as a whole. Is it possible to find any *single* meaning here for *τέλος* and its derivatives, except that of Aristotle? And, turning the argument the other way, and translating the Aristotelian terms in a Christian sense, is not the very contention of the writer this, that Judaism—Man—the Jewish Church—Christian doctrine—finds each its reality in its completion, in the working out of its *τέλος*, in being (to impart an idea that is, I fear, outside the philosophy of Stagirite) what God *brings it* to be? To

take a test point, does not this view most nobly show the meaning of a passage that sometimes seems puzzling—"the Captain of our salvation was made perfect through suffering"? *Morally* interpreted, the words are susceptible of a catholic meaning. Interpreted according to the logic of Aristotle, they simply say that the τέλος of Christ, *quod ἀρχηγός σωτηρίας*, required suffering—that the idea of suffering is necessarily involved in that of *leading* others through suffering to salvation. The τέλος here is the same as the definition; τελειότης appertains to the *term*, not the thing. So, too, Christian doctrine has its ἀρχή and its τελειότης: the writer passes on from "the reasonable nature of the beginning of Christ" to what it involves—the completely developed Christianity. That, when unfolded, is τέλειος in its definition, and is its own τέλος. So far the writer of the Epistle makes a marked use of Aristotelian logic.

(4.) But in this argument there is one great lack. If the writer were a pure Aristotelian he could get no further than this—that Christianity is a mere development of Judaism, and its τέλος, logically and metaphysically, the result of potentialities (whatever they may be) in the ἀρχή of Judaism itself. But he gets a great deal further; he never suggests that the shadow contains the substance, or that misty potentialities develop into realities. On the contrary, he teaches that the τέλος appears at the end because it was *itself* there at the beginning; that it is *evolved* in history because it was *involved* in the purpose of God. And here he crosses the clearest dividing-line that exists in human thought—the line that separates Aristotle from Plato, Nominalist from Universalist, Non-theistic from Theistic Evolution, "Naturalistic" from Theistic thought in all its forms. For the one fundamental division among thinkers turns on the question whether there is such a thing as a metaphysical τέλος, or "wherefore," in

Nature and in History, or only a logical *τέλος*, a "definition" of each thing as it stands, and no more. It is just a question of whether there is or is not a "purpose" in the perpetual mutations of Being, or a perpetual series of "results," with no full purpose underlying them.

Now, as a simple fact of History, it is undeniable that the metaphysic of Aristotle—or what he took for metaphysic—was intended to account for an ordered *κόσμος*, without the aid of the Platonic doctrine of the "Idea." But it is by means of this latter doctrine that our writer fills the great gap in the Aristotelian system, and shows himself no true follower of Aristotle. It may therefore be worth our while to consider both the Platonic theory itself, and the magnificent, though very curious, use to which it is turned in the Epistle. In doing this, I think it can be shown that the writer's most definite and luminous philosophy is distinctly Platonic.

Plato's teaching on this point is dialectic and suggestive rather than dogmatic. He offers his theory as a link to unite the apparently irreconcilable views of Heraclitus—the "Dark"—who taught that nothing is, because nothing endures; and the Eleatics, whose doctrine of "pure being" found its practical result in that blind materialism which teaches that things *are* what they seem. But since there is some slight difference of opinion as to what Plato meant by what we call the "Idea"—for which he uses the names *εἶδος*, *ἰδέα*, and *παράδειγμα*—it will tend to clearness of thought if we compare briefly his own accounts of its origin and meaning.

In the famous parable of the Cave he likens—*not, I think, all men, but*—those who believe in the ultimate reality of contingent things to dwellers in a cave, who, with their backs to the light, see the shadows of passing living beings, and take the shadows for realities. This has been taken by some as an expression of Plato's own

doctrine, but it appears only as a parable, and it seems intended more as a description of the position taken by a shallow thinker, than as an account of the real nature of our knowledge. When he speaks plainly, his Ontology takes a more philosophic form. He starts from the position that an *individual* thing is incognisable as an object of thought, and that it is the function of *thought* to reach true reality. Sharply and definitely, *this* man cannot be the *real* man of thought, for the "this-ness" of any man depends entirely on contingent and variable elements. The true nature of man does not include the here, or the where, or the when, or the race, or the colour, or the height, or anything else that only distinguishes one man from another. When we think, not of this or that man, but of *man*, we think (to anticipate his argument a little) of *human nature*; and what we call "human nature," he calls the εἶδος (form), or ἰδέα (object of knowledge), or παράδειγμα (pattern), of any and every man. The differences are sensually known, the common part intellectually. Now of course Aristotle, as we have seen, finds his "reality" in the "definition" of the sensible individual thing itself—like the Doctor of Philosophy in Longfellow's "Golden Legend," he asserts that "Universals have no real existence," and that the reality of *this* man consists in the sum total of his "actuality" and "potentiality." And all Nominalists follow him in regarding every class of things—everything with an extension beyond that of the individual, as an unreal but convenient abstraction. This doctrine has been already criticised: for those whom it satisfies, *cadit questio*. But a couple of quotations will make it quite plain that Plato's view is absolutely opposed to this method of passing off Logic as a satisfactory metaphysic.

"Thought," he says, in the *Timæus*, "is employed on the permanent—on that which neither begins nor ends,

but always *in like manner is*”—a passage which irresistibly suggests the description of the “true priesthood” in the Hebrews. “This Melchizedek, . . . without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, being likened to the Son of God, *abideth* (μένει) a priest εἰς τὸ διηνεκές.” The mark of the *abiding* or real nature of this priesthood, is that it has no *contingencies*. Plato would have used the same thought, if not the same words. The argument that the priesthood of Melchizedek, having nothing transitory about it, was pure εἶδος, ἰδέα, or παράδειγμα, is absolutely Platonic. Our writer identifies this with the priesthood of the true world; we shall see presently how he reaches this concept of a world and a worship that are true—ἀληθινοί—“the *genuine* tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man.”

But to return to Plato. He is certain that the individual has in itself no *reasonable existence*; the *materials* endure, but the *combinations* are fleeting. And the *intellectual* material (to use a phrase that is rather convenient than accurate) is the Idea. Its work is to give unity and reality to the unstable and transient object. It is its εἶδος, giving it form; its ἰδέα, making it thinkable; its παράδειγμα, because all that makes the individual cognisable is, as it were, a copy (ὑπόδειγμα)¹ of the Idea, which alone can be cognised as universal. A man (to return to our former illustration) can be cognised *as* a man only by first cognising the general “Idea” of humanity. Until this is present in the mind, an individual can be cognised only as an unknown something, possessing a being composed of attributes that (in the technical logical sense of the terms) may all be regarded as equally *propria*, or equally *accidentia*. Obviously *this* man cannot be said to

¹ The use of ὑπόδειγμα for a “copy” is not classical, but there can be no reasonable doubt as to its meaning in our Epistle.

belong to a general class, "Man," unless the "Idea" of humanity precedes the cognition of him as an individual. And so, through all classifications, we are driven back from species to genus, in a perpetual retrogression, until we reach a transcendental point—a point beyond which thought can travel no further. Then the process of cognition brings us forward again; but it must necessarily, in bringing us forward, pass from what is most intellectual to what is most sensuous. The "Idea" is thus, intellectually, *before* the individual; the universal shapes the particular, not the particular the universal. And unless we are to abandon all Ontology, and take, as our concept of Being, such a chaotic and tangled mass as Mr. Bradley presents to us in his doctrine of "the Reality of Experience," we cannot avoid attributing a higher Reality to what is constant, universal, and necessary, than to what is variable, individual, and contingent. Thought is therefore a "condition precedent" of existence. So Plato recognises two worlds. To quote the *Timæus* again:—"There are two sorts of things: one that always *is*, and becomes not, and one that always *becomes*, but never *is*." As a preparation in considering the use of this thought by a Scriptural writer, need I say that the difference between εἶναι and γίγνομαι is of first-rate importance in Christian thought? That there is a marked difference between saying that our Lord is *a* man, and that He is *Man*? That the words "Our Lord took on Him certain attributes which form the definition, or τέλος, of man," convey a meaning different from the statement, "He took on Him *the nature of us all*"? Or that what is held to be "orthodox" teaching is, on all these points, not Aristotelian, but Platonic?

The essential difference between the Aristotelian doctrine of the τέλος and the Platonic theory of the Idea is this, that the τέλος of the Aristotelian philosophy develops

from below; until developed, it is only a *potentiality* (a term which I cannot but consider as invented to mask ignorance), and it *acquires* reality only as it is evolved. But as we can never tell where evolution will stop, we can never know when any true *τέλος* is reached. The Idea, on the other hand, is a factor of *Involution*. It involves itself in the development of "things," not only preceding the individual, but giving it such reality as is possible to an individual. The Idea (says Dr. James Sterling) is the diamond net that supports the contingent. But it is more; it is both the absolute Being of pure Reason (Kant's *reine Vernunft*), and the backbone and skeleton of everything that we can bring within reach of absolute reason, or absolute thought.

Now what did the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews know of this system? We have already seen that he was no stranger to the Aristotelian doctrine of the *τέλος*; but I must confess that I cannot understand his reasoning except by supposing that he was *more* fully acquainted with, and more faithfully loyal to, the doctrine of the *εἶδος*—the *παράδειγμα*—the "Idea" that is rationally before, though it may historically come after, the determination of the individual.

We have seen that he recognises two worlds—one shadowy, and the other real. He goes even further than this, for the former world is spoken of as the *shadow* of the latter: "The law, therefore, having a *shadow* (*σκιά*) of the things about to be, and not the very image (*εἰκόνα*) of these things." And we shall see presently that he uses other images, in which these two worlds are not simply opposed to one another, but marked as *related* each to the other. But the very heart of the Epistle is the argument by which he deduces from the principles of Judaism the existence of that other world, which he calls "Heavenly." This word "Heavenly" does not mean "situated in

Heaven,' or "belonging to Heaven." It is related to the characteristic N. T. phrase, "the Heavens," which assumes all worlds is part of God's Kingdom: and, whenever the writer uses the substantive in referring to that deeper and greater world, he uses it in the plural. So he divides between "earth" and "the heavens": but the working and life of "the heavens" are not only in Heaven but on earth. Following Plato's line of thought, he teaches that "the heavens," and the "things in the heavens," are of everlasting stuff—not transitory, like the things of earth. Compressing his thought, we may contrast with each other the elements of the two concepts. There is an earthly house of God, the Tabernacle (*not* the Temple, because, I take it, he wished both to deal with the original Mosaic system and to emphasise the transitoriness of its nature) and there is a *heavenly*—"which the Lord pitched, and not man." The latter is specifically defined as ἀληθινή—genuine: and the same adjective is used to describe the things belonging to that greater

¹ Through the whole Greek of the New Testament there is a strongly marked difference between the meanings of οὐρανός (Heaven, and οὐρανοί. The former word is sometimes used for the sky, and sometimes for the "Heaven of God": and S. Paul speaks of "the third Heaven," though there is some doubt as to his exact meaning. But the difference between the meaning of the singular and the plural is characteristically shown in the Lord's Prayer. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς . . . γεννηθῆτω τὸ θελημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς." If the singular were used in the first clause, it would bear exactly the meaning of the corresponding clause in Mr. Robert Buchanan's "Devil's Prayer": "Our Father, who in Heaven art—*not here*." But the meaning is that God is in all

the *Heavens*, i.e., in all places terrestrial and celestial, regarded as parts of His dominions. In the latter clause, "Heaven" is rightly used in the singular, as it is contrasted with "earth." This distinction is found through the whole New Testament:—notably in S. Matthew's peculiar phrase, "The Kingdom of the Heavens," mis-translated "The Kingdom of Heaven." In the other Gospels the phrase used is "Kingdom of God."

In this article the sense assigned to the words 'Heavens' and 'heavenly' rests almost entirely on this distinction, and the phrases, "Heavenly world," "Heavenly things" (τὰ ἐπουράνια) are very natural synonyms for "World of Reality," "Ideal World," "World of God," and "Real things."

world. But what is this "genuine Tabernacle"? Consider the other elements in the two concepts. In the one, men—men's bodies—are shut out from a shadowy and purely ritual worship in a local and shadowy tabernacle by a bodily and shadowy thing called "defilement." But men—in their true reality, as spiritual beings—are cut off from the real Tabernacle by a real thing, sin. A man may walk again in those courts of glorious ceremony when his defilement has been removed by a sacrifice "for the purifying of the flesh": that he may walk in the real Tabernacle the real and deeper man must be reached. His *συνείδησις*—conscience, or rather (for the word is almost similar in meaning to the Aristotelian *αἰσθησις*, which denotes the unity of all apperceptive powers) *consciousness*, must be won over by a sacrifice that reaches it, and cleanses from sin. And for that there is needed a *real* priest (who must be *real* man) to offer a *real* sacrifice, rooted and grounded in that *real* life, that *real* worship, of the *real* world "of the heavens." Outside that *real* world we can find nothing but shadows—*ὑποδείγματα*, as our writer calls them, using a term that stands in marked contrast to the Platonic term *παράδειγματα*. Perhaps a simple illustration will best explain the relation of the Jewish shadow-worship to Christianity, as dealt with by our writer. A Cornish "wagon-roof" is not a roof at all, but a semicylindrical ceiling covering the true roof. But it is divided into panels by a series of beautiful quasi-beams, and each of these shows the place occupied by a true beam behind in the real roof. Carpenters call these the *moulds* of the unseen beams beyond—the beams that do the real work. In Judaism we find the *moulds* that answer to and depend on the real parts of the true Tabernacle. What can this true Tabernacle be but the real world of God, the "Kingdom of the Heavens," in which the real priest cleanses real men by a real sacrifice?

Heaven," or "belonging to Heaven."¹ It is related to the characteristic N. T. phrase, "the Heavens," which subsumes *all* worlds as part of God's Kingdom: and, whenever the writer uses the substantive in referring to that deeper and greater world, he uses it in the plural. So he divides between "earth" and "the heavens": but the worship and life of "the heavens" are not only in Heaven but on earth. Following Plato's line of thought, he teaches that "the heavens," and the "things in the heavens," are of everlasting stuff—not transitory, like the things of earth. Compressing his thought, we may contrast with each other the elements of the two concepts. There is an *earthly* house of God, the Tabernacle (*not* the Temple, because, I take it, he wished both to deal with the original Mosaic system and to emphasise the transitoriness of its nature) and there is a *heavenly*—"which the Lord pitched, and not man." The latter is specifically defined as ἀληθινή—genuine: and the same adjective is used to describe the things belonging to that greater

¹ Through the whole Greek of the New Testament there is a strongly marked difference between the meanings of οὐρανός (Heaven) and οὐρανοί. The former word is sometimes used for the sky, and sometimes for the "Heaven of God"; and S. Paul speaks of "the third Heaven," though there is some doubt as to his exact meaning. But the difference between the meaning of the singular and the plural is characteristically shown in the Lord's Prayer. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς . . . γεννηθήτω τὸ θελημα σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς." If the singular were used in the first clause, it would bear exactly the meaning of the corresponding clause in Mr. Robert Buchanan's "Devil's Prayer": "Our Father, who in Heaven art—*not here*." But the meaning is that God is in all

the Heavens, i.e., in all places terrestrial and celestial, regarded as parts of His dominions. In the latter clause, "Heaven" is rightly used in the singular, as it is contrasted with "earth." This distinction is found through the whole New Testament:—notably in S. Matthew's peculiar phrase, "The Kingdom of the Heavens," mistranslated "The Kingdom of Heaven." In the other Gospels the phrase used is "Kingdom of God."

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And the writer leaves us in little doubt as to the nature of this *real* sacrifice. "Sacrifices . . . thou wouldst not. Then said I, 'Lo, I come . . . *to do thy will*, O God.' By the which *will* we are sanctified, *through* the offering of the Body of Christ, once for all. He taketh away *the first*, that He may establish the *second*." The *heavenly* things are then things in their *reality*, not in outward show : and the thought is Platonic to the core.

I have said that this special line of thought in the Epistle cannot be satisfactorily explained without a reference to this Platonic substructure. As an example of the difficulty, I may quote one text, and the explanation of a certain commentator. "It was necessary that the patterns (*ὑποδείγματα* = copies) of things in the heavens should be cleansed with such sacrifices as these, but *the heavenly things themselves* with better sacrifices." The vapid comment is : "He must mean the steps of man's heavenward path : the heavenly things could need no cleansing." Assuredly, if "heavenly things" mean "things in heaven." But what if the meaning be "things belonging to the heavenly sphere?" The whole course of the argument that follows—which I have above condensed—pursues one thought ; and that thought is, that the heavenly things—the *παράδειγματα*, the real things of thought—*did* need cleansing, and, being real, a real cleansing, that not only makes them *seem* pure, but also gives them really purity.

So far, then, the most critical and important part of the Epistle is a realisation of the very process by which Plato reached out to God, and to the concept of God's *real* world, where our fickle senses bring no variableness nor shadow cast by turning. A very curious verse (xi. 3) sums up the writer's view as to the material creation :—"By faith we understand that the worlds (*αἰῶνας*) were framed by the utterance of God, so that the things perceived (*τὰ βλεπόμενα*) 'were made' (or 'became,' *γεγονέναι*) 'not out of

phenomena" (μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων). But the strongest point of all remains, a very brief argument which, I venture to say, *cannot* rest on any other foundation but this Platonic concept of the IDEA, as precedent to and determining all phenomena.

The passage in which it is contained is significantly called by the writer "κεφάλαιον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις"—"the coping-stone laid upon these sayings" (viii. 1); and the argument itself *is* the keystone of the whole building.

The writer starts with a text from the Old Testament, and, by a most peculiar use of this text, he deduces from it—or, rather, illustrates by it—the necessary existence of a greater "Temple" prior to, greater than, and itself engendering, the whole "Tabernacle" of Judaism. We have already noticed the sense in which this word "Tabernacle" is used in the Epistle: let us now look at this most important passage (viii. 4 *sqq.*). "For if He (the true priest) were on earth, He would not be a priest, there being priests who offer the gifts *according to the law*, who serve the copy (ὑποδείγματι) and shadow (σκιᾷ) of the heavenly things: as Moses is ordered when he is about to complete ('construct completely,' ἐπιτελεῖν) the Tabernacle. For he saith, '*see that thou make all things after the pattern (τύπον) showed thee in the mount.*' But now He hath obtained a more excellent ministry (λειτουργίας), inasmuch as He is a mediator of a better covenant, which is founded on better promises."

What is this pattern? Is it a mere rhetorical expression, signifying nothing? If it stood alone, we might, perhaps, think so: but we have seen already that the relation of "pattern" and "copy" is constantly before the writer's mind, and in this very passage the τύπος and the ὑπόδειγμα are carefully contrasted. A fleeting vision setting forth a form to be copied? That *might* be a natural explanation, but Christ could have found no

"better ministry" in an airy fabric, nor could the "heavenly things," the τύπος of the Tabernacle, be themselves more unsubstantial than their shadow. A vision of the angelic worship, with the hosts of Heaven circling round the throne of God, like the great exemplar of later Christian ceremonial shown to S. John in the Apocalypse? It is at least worth noticing that, in this connexion, our writer dismisses all the accessories of worship, and goes straight to the heart of the mystery—the relation of Judaism as a transitory and quasi-unreal thing to the realities of Christianity. The γενόμενα of Judaism are distinctly called ὑποδείγματα of the great Exemplar: *and this Exemplar itself is distinctly identified with the realities of which the shadow things are copies.* To borrow an image from another part of the Epistle, the "pattern" shown is the χαράκηρ: the Jewish worship is the impression. "The things that are seen are temporal; the things that are unseen are eternal." The fact is that, boldly ignoring Jewish methods of thought, our writer reads his text in the light of the doctrine of Ideas. To the Talmudist the "pattern" Moses saw may have been made of jacinth, or sapphire, or uncreated gold: to our writer, it is most certainly "spiritual substance," the everlasting reality from which the "first Tabernacle" derived its shadowy power of shadowy holiness. It is the εἶδος of the Tabernacle: the true Temple of Mystics and Masons, and, above all, of Christians, in which true men—not the bodies only of men—appear before God in His Reality, and worship Him in spirit and truth. Here our writer applies his "universalism" to spiritual things; in a passage already quoted (xi. 3) he suggests the same principle as underlying all creation. So he not only reaches a Platonic conclusion, but also reaches it in Plato's own way. And he is none the less a Christian, through and through, because he is a Platonist to the core.

So, for us who believe that the Λόγος was made flesh, and that we live discerning

“ A mystic heaven and earth, behind
The earth and sea and sky,”

the wise old pagan lives again in the better words and deeper mysteries of a writer that was even wiser than he. We cannot bind Christianity to Platonism, Realism, Universalism; that would be “the marriage of an Immortal with a Mortal.” But this does not in the least affect the evidence for either our writer’s use of Aristotelian Logic, or his belief in Platonic Ontology. These points must be judged from the Epistle itself. And if our writer teaches us that reality belongs to a brighter world than its manifestation, and is true before it is manifested—if he uses Plato’s terms, and works on Plato’s lines—if he leads us to the thought that the true mysteries of the Incarnation and the Atonement lie in that real kingdom of the Heavens, and not among the glimmerings and fadings of the sensible shadow of that kingdom—he surely melted Plato’s elements in the crucible from which he brought forth his gold.

ALEXANDER R. EAGAR.

“ATAKTA” ON CICERO’S LETTERS.

Fam. 1, 6.

PROFESSOR PURSER (HERMATHENA, No. XXVI. (1900), p. 53) accepts the date given for this epistle by Rauschen, who places it after the Quirinalia (February 17) in 56 B.C. The reason is drawn from a comparison with Q. Fr. 2, 3, 4. “Cicero appears to have lost the hope that effective resistance to the proposals which were detrimental to Lentulus could be made on the Quirinalia.” Assuming for the moment that, in the two passages which are compared, the subject-matter is exactly the same, does the language which is used in them justify this conclusion? The tone in Fam. 1, 6 is only slightly less confident than in Q. Fr. 1.1.; it is merely the difference between *ualde suspicor fore ut infringatur hominum improbitas* and *in ea* (sc. *Quirinalia* or *in eo* = *in ea re*) *multo sumus superiores*; the latter phrase is rather less emphatic than *Catoni profecto resistemus* (Fam. 1, 5a, 2) and *facile resistemus* (Fam. 1, 5b, 2). But does Q. Fr. 2, 3, 4 refer to precisely the same matters as Fam. 1, 6? Let us compare § 1 of the latter with § 4.

§ 1. C. Cato legem promulgavit de imperio Lentulo abrogando. Vestitum filius mutavit.

§ 4. operas suas Clodius confirmat, manus ad Quirinalia paratur. In ea (or *in eo*) multo sumus superiores ipsius copiis; sed magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia expectatur, ut etiam Catonis rogationibus de Milone et Lentulo resistamus.

The comparison makes one thing clear; the language (cf. especially *etiam*) implies that the voting about Lentulus

was expected to take place later than the Quirinalia. And when we look to the whole context we see that Pompeius was the man especially concerned with the business on that day. We find from § 2 that the trial of Milo before the comitia on the prosecution of Clodius had been adjourned to the Quirinalia, and from § 3 that Pompeius feared violence on that occasion. He had been seriously threatened with it at a previous hearing of the case. The fact that a state trial had been fixed for the Quirinalia made legislation on that day impossible. And, even had it been otherwise, why should C. Cato have interfered with the trial of Milo? He was making common cause with Clodius against Milo, and his proposal to establish a special court to take cognisance of Milo's offence was an engine of attack intended for use only if the prosecution by Clodius failed. These reasons, taken by themselves, forbid us to suppose that Lentulus had any special concern with the Quirinalia. There are, however, others which compel us to the same conclusion. The dates mentioned in Q. Fr. 2, 3 seem to show that the bill directed against Lentulus by Cato was not "promulgated" before a. d. IV. Non., i.e. not sufficiently early to allow a vote to be taken on the Quirinalia, in accordance with the provision of the *lex Caecilia Didia*, which required the *trinum nundinum* to intervene between the *promulgatio* and the *comitia*. And again Cicero can hardly have expected a very early vote to be taken on propositions to which so strenuous a resistance was to be offered. This is shown by some words in Fam. 1, 6, where he says that he hopes the attacks of the enemies of Lentulus will be frustrated by mere "lapse of time" (*ipsa die*). And the measures taken by Lentulus the consul, of which we read in Q. Fr. 2, 4, 4 (2, 6, 4) must have been adopted immediately on the promulgation of C. Cato's projects; yet we hear of them first in this letter, which was written, probably, before the end of February (see

§ 1). How long the struggle over C. Cato's proposals lasted, we cannot estimate with exactness. The consul succeeded in rendering all "comitial" days useless for a considerable period (Q. Fr. 2, 4, §§ 4, 6). To all appearance Fam. 1, 6 was written some time after the obstructive process began, and Fam. 1, 5*a* earlier; very soon after the *promulgatio* (§ 2).

I desire to touch briefly on a few other points connected with these letters. In Q. Fr. 2, 3, 1 Cicero writes: "a Kal. Febr. legationes in Idus Febr. reiciebantur. Eo die res confecta non est." These words were written on prid. Id. Febr. before dawn (§ 7), and that perhaps accounts for the imperfect *reiciebantur*. Therefore *eo die* is not, as Prof. Tyrrell thinks, the Ides. Rather is it the Kalends. Prof. Tyrrell points out that *res* is the business touching the "Alexandrine King," as is shown by words in the letter which immediately precedes: "Sine dubio res a Lentulo remota uidetur esse." And we may fairly conclude from Fam. 1, 4, 1 that the reception of embassies was postponed for the purpose of allowing the affairs of Egypt to be considered on Feb. 1. Writing to Lentulus about Egypt, Cicero there says:—"Senatus haberi ante Kal. Febr. per legem Pupiam, id quod scis, non potest, neque mense Februario toto nisi perfectis aut reiectis legationibus." It is surprising that Cicero tells his brother nothing about the course which the discussion took on Feb. 1, and that we hear nothing about it in the letters addressed to Lentulus himself. This led me formerly to suspect that the words *eo die res confecta non est* are a gloss concocted from § 3 of the letter: *eo die nihil perfectum est*. But the debate on Feb. 1 probably proved futile, and not worth describing. Hence in Fam. 1, 5*b*, 1, it is included among the things which Cicero passes by, of which Lentulus is presumed to have heard from other sources.

In Fam. 1, 4, 1, speaking of a discussion in the

senate on a.d. xvi. Kal. Febr. concerning Ptolemy Auletes, Cicero says :—"Caninius et Cato negarunt se legem ullam ante comitia esse laturos." Prof. Tyrrell supposes this to indicate that Caninius and Cato had combined to propose a law stripping Lentulus of his governorship; the law in fact which C. Cato did afterwards bring forward; and that they undertook not to take a vote till the elections for 55 should be past, *i.e.* about August. These tribunes cannot have undertaken to suspend their animosity for so long a time; and in fact the meeting of the *comitia* is the one fixed for a.d. xi. Kal. Febr., as we learn from Q. Fr. 2, 2, 2, which letter was written on a.d. xiv. Kal. Febr. It was at this assembly that Clodius was elected aedile. But what are the *comitia* mentioned in Q. Fr. 2, 4, 6 :—"C. Cato contionatus est comitia haberi non siturum, si sibi cum populo dies agendi essent exempti"? The letter was written in March, not long after a.d. v. Id. A threat to obstruct the ordinary elections in July or August seems a little premature. Possibly, although the aedilician elections for 56 B.C. were carried out on a.d. xi. Kal. Febr. the quaestorian were still pending. Turning again to Fam. 1, 4, 1, I would raise the question whether the words *legem ullam* have any reference to the proposal to divest Lentulus of his *imperium*. We may at once dismiss Caninius. His *lex* must have been the one mentioned in Q. Fr. 2, 2, 3 (already promulgated before a.d. xiv. Kal. Febr.) allowing Pompeius to restore Ptolemy to his throne. Now if it was known before the middle of January that C. Cato intended to adopt the most extreme and unusual course of proposing to remove Lentulus from office, why does Cicero take the matter so quietly? Whenever that project is definitely mentioned elsewhere, it is keenly deplored. Moreover we have seen above that the *promulgatio*, in all probability, did not take place till after a.d. iv. Non. Febr. I conclude therefore that at the time when Fam. 1, 4, 1 was written, C. Cato had not disclosed

his intention of putting this great insult upon Lentulus. Undoubtedly the measure contemplated had to do with the Egyptian problem. Cato was hostile to Ptolemy and Pompeius, as well as to Lentulus (cf. Fenestella ap. Non. 385). We may reckon him a supporter of Servilius "qui omnino reduci (regem) oportere negat" (Fam. 1, 1, 3); and hence may conjecture the nature of his proposal.

Fam. 5, 14, 1: Romae quia postea non fuisti quam discesserat miratus sum.

So Med., but H (Harl. 2773) and P (Parisin. 17812) agree in giving *discesseram*, which editors have usually accepted (Mendelssohn, however, "dubitans"); but *discesseras* and *discesseramus* appear in some texts. May not the correct reading be *discessus erat*:—"The fact that you have never returned to Rome since the vacation began has caused me astonishment"? When Cicero buried himself at Astura after the death of Tullia, he made the vacation his excuse: cf. Att. 12, 40, 3: Si quis requirit cur Romae non sim, 'quia discessus est'; also Fam. 3, 9, 4: discessum senatus.

5, 14, 2: sin autem, sicut hinc dicas seras, lacrimis ac tristitiae te tradidisti, doleo. . . .

So the passage stands in Med.; late MSS. and early editions give *hinc discesseras*; H *sicut indicas*; P *indicas* without *sicut*. Many scholars (Mendelssohn included) support *sicut hinc discesseras*. If correct, the words must be equivalent to *qualis eras cum hinc discedebas*. Is this possible Latin? The corruptions may be easily explained if the original reading be *sicut indicat res*, a common form of expression for which it is not worth while to quote parallels. The *in* of *indicat* was detached and developed into *hinc*, and the rest passed in the later MSS. to *discesseras* under the influence of *discesseram* or *discesserat* a few lines above.

5, 19, 2: quare (*quae* MSS.) tu, si simul placebit, statim ad me uenies; sin idem placebit atque eodem, nec continuo poterit, omnia tibi ut nota sint faciam.

Here *idem* appears to be an error for *iter*:—"If, while you decide to travel and to the same goal with me, yet you cannot start at once; I will keep you informed of everything."

6, 17: sic habeto, beneficiorum magnitudine eos qui temporibus ualuerunt ut ualeant, coniunctiores esse tecum quam me, necessitudine neminem.

The Dublin editors translate *ualuerunt ut ualeant* "have succeeded in being successful." But the meaning should be "have so succeeded (in the past) that they are successful (now)." The sense is not good; and some defining particles are sorely needed. I think Cicero wrote *ualuerunt ut ualent*, "have attained such power as we see them to possess." Such a phrasing is easily paralleled; and it is well-known that in our MSS. an indicative immediately following *ut* is often thrust into the subjunctive.

7, 16, 1: nunc uero in hibernis iniectus mihi uideris, itaque te commouere non curas.

The word *iniectus* has often been changed to *intectus*, the negative of *tectus*. If *intectus* were the right reading, it would be better to suppose it the participle of *intego*. But *iniectus* (retained by Mendelssohn and by C. F. W. Mueller—see his critical note—yet without explanation) is, I think, capable of defence, as corresponding to *inicere uestem*, and so meaning "covered up." The word would thus be briefly put for *iniectus ueste*, just as *indutus* sometimes stands for *indutus ueste*. Cf. Silius Ital. 4, 359 *iniectus Spartanis colla catenis* (Regulus); Mart. 4, 75, 5 *arserit Euhadne flammis iniecta mariti* (possibly however *flammis* here is dat.); Apul. M. 2, 28 *iuuenem linteis*

tunicis iniectum; ib. 8, 27 mitellis et crocotis et carbasinis et bombycinis iniecti; ib. 9, 20 raptim tunicas iniectus. Prof. Tyrrell suggests that *iniectus* may mean "arrested," from the legal phrase *inicere manum*; but this phrase takes the accusative, I believe, only once in Plautus. The participle *iniecta* acquires a middle, almost an active sense in Val. Fl. 3, 562: *illa auidas iniecta manus heu, sera cientem auxilia et magni referentem nomen amici detrahit*. [Since the above was written I have seen a note by Hoffmann in "Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen, 1868, p. 612 (referred to by Mendelssohn), where the meaning which I suggest for *iniectus* is assigned to it. Hoffmann says that the usage needs no proof.]

9, 5, 2: *sed nihil minus fero quam seueritatem otiosorum*.

Here *minus* accords ill with the context, and also with the "pococurante" tone of the letters of this period. It may be a wrong expansion of contracted writing for *melius* or *mollius*. Similarly *nimis*, *magis*, *minus* have often been confused in MSS.

9, 6, 6: *faciam ergo illud quod rogatus sum, ut eorum quae temporis huius sint, quae tua audiero, ne quid ignores*.

This may be simply corrected by writing *quae tui, si audiero*, supplying *temporis* with *tui*. Cicero loves to substitute *si* for *cum* with the future perfect, and no word more easily drops out of the *codices*: cf. e.g. Fam. 4, 9, 4; Q. Cic. De Pet. Cons. 44, with C. F. W. Mueller's critical note.

9, 7, 1: *sed ridicula missa, praesertim cum sit nihil quod rideamus: "Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu."*

Cicero's usage makes it unlikely that he wrote *missa* for *m. sint* or *faciamus* either here or in 15, 20, 3. Here read *ridiculo misso* (like *ioco remoto*, the noun *ridiculum* being Ciceronian); there *sed sint acta missa*.

9, 24, 2: Spurinna quidem, cum ei rem demonstrassem et uitam tuam superiorem exposuissem, magnum periculum summae rei publicae demonstrabat, nisi ad superiorem consuetudinem tum, cum Fauonius flaret, reuertisses; hoc tempore ferri posse, si forte tu frigus ferre non posses.

However the jocularly here may be explained, it must be ponderous and, as Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser say, "trying." But I think there is a little more humour in the passage than is commonly supposed. There is a "double entendre" in *cum Fauonius flaret*, one reference being to Favonius the "simius Catonis"; "the good old times when Favonius used to bluster." This mode of denoting a particular time by referring to a personal name is common enough in Cicero, as in *Fam.* 1, 7, 3 *suspiciosissimo tempore Caniniano*; 1, 9, 11, *Cinneis temporibus*, and 9, 15, 3, *Catulum mihi narras et illa tempora*; and a jest on a name is irresistible to Cicero (*e.g.* *Att.* 13, 46, *plane Pollex non index*). Then there is a play on *frigus*, literal cold, and "a cold reception." When Paetus could not talk with freedom, then his conversation "frigebat." The subject of *ferri* seems to be *consuetudinem tuam ueterem*, i.e. your old custom of dining out and talking freely. Spurinna thinks that the tongue of Paetus may now (*hoc tempore*) wag as it will, and satirize public men, without harm, as in the old days of liberty.

12, 7, 1: dixi de te quae potui, tanta contentione quantum forum est, tanto clamore consensuque populi, ut nihil umquam simile uiderim.

The words *tanta contentione quantum forum est* are usually taken to mean "stretching my voice to reach over the forum." Can they bear this sense? The manner of conveying it is odd: "with effort as great as the forum is." There is a corruption, I think, of *tanta contione quantam forum capit*. Cf. *Ad Brut.* 3, 3, 2 *tantae multitudinis quan-*

tam capit urbs nostra ; also Phil. 4, 1 and 6, 18. The confusion of *contio* and *contentio* is common in MSS., and *capit* denoted by first and last letter with something written above, would readily be mistaken for *est*.

16, 21, 7 : emisse te praedium uehementer gaudeo feliciterque tibi rem istam euenire cupio ; hoc loco me tibi gratulari noli mirari ; eodem enim fere loco tu quoque emisse te fecisti me certiore. Habes ; deponendae tibi sunt urbanitates ; rusticus Romanus factus es.

The quotations made by scholars to show that Cicero might have used *habes* in this absolute sense are not fortunate. Rosc. Am. 132 is a lacunose passage ; in Verr. 2, 5, 45 ex eis locis in quibus te habere nihil licet, *nihil* is object of *habere* ; so again in Fam. 7, 29, 1 quod simus, quod habeamus . . . id omne abs te habere, clearly the sense is not "the fact that I exist, the fact that I hold property," but "all I am and all I have, I owe to you." A better reference would be Verr. 2, 3, 199 habet idem in nummis, habet in urbanis praediis. But that passage, studied in its context, appears to be unsound. In other places where Cicero is supposed to have used *habere* absolutely, an object is easily supplied from the words that immediately precede. The true reading here I believe to be *rem habes*, *rem* having disappeared by "haplography," owing to the last syllable of *certiore*. For *rem habes* cf. Off. 2, 73 : Philippus in tribunatu cum legem agrariam ferret . . . illud male, "non esse in ciuitate duo milia hominum qui rem haberent."

Ad Quintum Fratrem 2, 1, 3 : Clodius furebat a Racilio se contumaciter urbaneque uexatum.

I entirely agree with Prof. Purser in rejecting the correction *inurbane*. Clodius was likely to be rendered much more furious by an *urbana* than by an *inurbana uexatio*. Probably the emendation would never have been accepted had it not been supposed that *contumaciter* necessarily

implies moral condemnation. That this is not so, may easily be shown; cf. especially Tusc. 1, 71: Socrates adhibuit . . . liberam contumaciam a magnitudine animi ductam non a superbia.

Q. Fr. 2, 7, 3: a. d. III. Id. Febr. senatus consultum est factum . . . in Afrani sententiam, quam dixeram, cum tu adesses.

The words *quam dixeram* have often been emended. Prof. Purser interprets them to mean that Cicero had brought before the senate at an earlier date a motion identical in substance with that of Afranius. I believe the text to be sound, but interpret it differently. The words *quam dixeram* are put, by a common idiom, for *de qua dixeram*. Parallels are numerous; there are about fifteen in the "De Finibus" alone.

Q. Fr. 3, 7, 1: Romae et maxime et Appia ad Martis miraluuies.

Prof. Purser accepts Wesenberg's correction *in* for *et* before *Appia*, and *alluuies*. In the first place, *alluuies* seems to me an unlikely word for Cicero to have used. It has been introduced by some editors into a passage of Livy; but its first certain occurrence is in Columella. *Eluuies*, which appears in the "Pro domo," would be preferable. But I think *luuies* has arisen by contraction from *luuiones* and that *eluuiones* should be read, along with *mirae*; cf. Rep. 6, 23; Diu. 1, 111. For the rest, omit *et* before *Appia*. [Prof. Purser points out that Boot, Obs. Crit., p. 38, proposed *mira eluuio est*, referring to Rep. 6, 13, and Off. 2. 16.]

Q. Fr. 3, 8, 6: Nunc de Milone. Pompeius ei nihil tribuit et omnia Guttae dicitque se perfecturum ut in illum Caesar incumbat.

On my mentioning to Prof. Purser a proposal to read *Cottae* for the unknown *Guttae*, he kindly pointed out to

me that I. Hoffa, in an edition of the epistles Ad Qu. Fr., published in 1843, made the same suggestion. The person is, I think, the M. Cotta who governed Sardinia in 49 B.C. He may have declined a province when praetor, and have been sent to Sardinia just as Cicero was sent to Cilicia.

Att. 4, 5: *subturpicula mihi uidebatur παλινψδία*.

Perhaps I ought to apologize for writing about so trite a theme as Cicero's *παλινψδία*. But I desire to show cause against the opinion now dominant, largely owing to Mommsen's influence, which identifies it with the speech "De Provinciis Consularibus." The language used concerning it by Cicero himself seems to me to be inconsistent with the view that it was an oration at all. The letter (Att. 4, 5) begins with a reply by Cicero to a complaint on the part of Atticus, that Cicero had allowed someone else the first reading of something that he had written. Cicero first makes a sham excuse, that the person to whom the writing was addressed (*ad quem misi*) was eager to get it, and that no second copy was ready. Then he comes out with a confession, "I am a long time nibbling at the morsel, which I must after all gulp down." The *παλινψδία* was *subturpicula* and that was the real reason why Atticus did not receive an early copy. Next, the blame for the recantation is laid upon the arrogance and treachery of the leaders of the Optimates, as often elsewhere (cf. e. g. Fam. 1, 7, §§ 7, 10 and 1, 9, 10). Atticus it was, himself, who had brought Cicero to his senses (*uix aliquando te auctore resipui*), and who only regretted that the new line had not been taken long before (*dices: "uellem iam pridem"*). Cicero, however, does not deny that he has gone further than his friend advised: *dices ea te monuisse suasisse, quae facerem, non ut scriberem*. On the theory that the *παλινψδία* was an oration, we must suppose that Atticus deemed it wise to make the

speech, but foolish to publish it, or else that he objected to the mode in which it was edited for publication. With the latter of these two suppositions the words *non etiam ut scriberem* can with difficulty be made to agree. As to the former, what harm was likely to be done by the publication of the speech, which had not already been wrought by its delivery? The sensation caused by the spoken words in which Cicero (on the supposition which I am discussing) formally declared his adhesion to the "triple alliance," must have far outdone any excitement that could be produced by putting them into circulation even in a re-edited shape. Another question: Is not chronology opposed to the identification of the "palinode" with the speech "De Prouinciis Consularibus" and still more to its identification with the "Pro Balbo"? Before the earlier of these two speeches was delivered, Cicero had made his change of front patent to all men, first by abandoning his motion concerning the Campanian lands, and then by supporting the resolutions of the senate to grant to Caesar the unparalleled honour of the "supplicatio quindecim dierum," and to provide him with money to pay the forces which, as the Optimates contended, he had raised illegally. As a political manifesto, the deliverance about the provinces must have greatly lacked freshness and novelty, and it is hard to understand why it should have stood out as *the* recantation. Another point is this. In the letter with which I am dealing, Cicero gives as his reason for writing his "chant the other way," his desire to commit himself irrevocably to the new alliance. If he had not done so by making the speech concerning the provinces, he can scarcely have done it by publishing the speech. In the oration as we have it, there is nothing that is unlikely to have been brought forward, in substance, during the debate. Then, further, Cicero says to Atticus *sed tamen modici fuimus ὑποθέσει* (dubious reading) *ut scripsi*: "but

after all, I have been moderate in the treatment of the theme, as I wrote to you before." Now, is it likely that Cicero wrote to Atticus saying, "I want you to know that I am writing out my speech on the provinces, but that I mean to be moderate in the treatment of my theme"? And how could a "moderate treatment" of the theme to which the speech was directed, turn out to be *subturpicula*?

All these difficulties disappear if we assume that the palinode was a letter addressed to Caesar, either directly or through a friend, embodying a personal confession of error, such as Stesichorus made to Helen. Even moderation in such a writing might seem "a trifle disgraceful" (if one may copy closely Cicero's phrase); whereas in the speeches Cicero could make a brave show of being guided by regard for his country's good. The words *eo ad quem misi* point distinctly to a writing dedicated or addressed to a particular person. It has been objected that Atticus would not have shown such great anxiety to obtain a copy of a mere letter. But some of Cicero's letters were pamphlets intended for general circulation. Such, for example, is Fam. 1, 9 (a long political apology), and such was the famous letter (Fam. 5, 7) in which Cicero courted (but in vain) the approval of Pompeius for the suppression of Catiline. And Atticus was anxious to see the more elaborate letters written to others by his friend. In Att. 4, 6, 4 he is told to get from Lucceius a copy of the "very pretty letter" which is Fam. 5, 12. In Att. 13, 51, 1 Cicero apologizes to Atticus for having forgotten to send him a copy of a letter addressed to Caesar. This was a letter composed at the instance of Atticus himself (13, 50, 1). It may be asked how it is that we find no further trace of the letter in which Cicero humbled himself. A possible answer to this question is suggested by Att. 13, 27, 1, and 31, 3. An elaborate letter to Caesar is there mentioned, which, as Cicero frankly admits, had *κολακεία* for its purpose. It was

submitted for criticism to Caesar's agents at Rome, and in consequence of objections taken by them, was withdrawn by Cicero. Perhaps the *παλινῳδία* perished by some such process.

The reading *ὑποθέσει* is an emendation of the MSS. readings (Med. *ἀποθῶσει*, Ed. Rom. *ἀποθεῶσει*). It can hardly be right; it would indicate rather the selection than the treatment of a theme, which is the traditional mode of interpreting it (cf. 12, 45, 3). Prof. Tyrrell suggests *ἀποθέσει* "in mea abdicatione partium optimatum." I should prefer to read *ὑποσχέσει*: "I have been moderate in the promises I have made" (to Caesar). Cicero would thus intimate that he had not mortgaged too deeply his political future. As to the date of Att. 4, 5, we have no means of determining it exactly; but it lies near in time to 4, 4*a* (ed. Mueller), 4, 6, and Fam. 5, 12.

Att. 4, 17, 3: *senatus decrevit ut tacitum iudicium ante comitia fieret ab eis consiliis quae erant omnibus sortita in singulos candidatos.*

Here the words *in singulos candidatos* belong to *iudicium* rather than to *sortita*, and *quae . . . sortita* is a clause descriptive of *consiliis*. Some word in agreement with *omnibus* seems to have dropped out; perhaps *quaesitoribus*, *sortita* being passive. For the trial of these candidates, the juries allotted to the *quaestiones* were to be employed, being taken away, for the time being, from their proper duties. What the *tacitum iudicium* was cannot be easily determined. The phrase can scarcely be technical, and the editors who print the passage as though Cicero were giving the actual words of the resolution of the senate, seem to me to be wrong. A common supposition has been that a *tacitum iudicium* means a trial with closed doors; in that case the silence is on the part of the general public, who are excluded. It is a very curious thing that

this particular form of trial should have received its name from the absence of the cheering or groaning mob. Lange (Röm. Alt. III. p. 351) supposes that the 'silent trial' was one at which neither witnesses, nor proofs, nor counsel were heard by the jury. It can hardly be supposed that the senate intended the verdicts to be given according to mere untested floating opinion. The word *tacitum* must bear a restricted sense, as indeed it must if the "voiceless trial" is a trial with doors closed. Witnesses could not be silenced, the reading aloud of proofs could not be stopped, but representation by advocates might be excluded, as a means of simplifying and shortening the trials. That this is the explanation may be deduced with fair probability from Plut. Cat. min. 44: ἔπεισε δόγμα θέσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον, ὅπως οἱ κατασταθέντες ἄρχοντες, εἰ μηδένα κατήγορον ἔχοιεν αὐτοὶ παριόντες εἰς ἔνορκον δικαστήριον εὐθύνας διδῶσιν. There is of course some confusion here; *magistratus designati* are substituted for *candidati*. But if there was no prosecuting counsel, there would probably be no defending counsel either; and it is likely that the senate assimilated the proceedings in all these trials.

Att. 10, 1, 4: Maconi istud, quod scribis, non mihi uidetur tam re esse triste quam uerbo. Haec est ἄλῃ in qua nunc sumus, mortis instar.

A notorious crux. The second sentence seems to show that under *Maconi* is hidden some reference to death. That *Mucianum* should be read is, I think, proved by 9, 12, 1: torqueor infelix, ut iam illum Mucianum exitum exoptem, and by 9, 15, 2 (written only a few days before 10, 1, 4): nihil expedio nisi aut ab hoc tamquam Q. Mucius, aut ab illo, tamquam L. Scipio. The expectation of death was much in Cicero's mind at this period.

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NOTES ON THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

xi. 25. 5. Famosos probris quonam modo senatu depelleret anxius, mitem et recens repertam quam ex severitate prisca rationem adhibuit, monendo, secum quisque de se consultaret peteretque ius exuendi (so edd. for *exuendi*) ordinis : facilem eius rei veniam. Et motos senatu excusatosque simul propositurum, ut iudicium censorum ac pudor sponte cedentium permixta (so edd. for *permixti*) ignominiam mollirent.

SENATORS could not resign their position without permission. But Claudius expressed himself ready to accept the resignations of 'unworthy members,' so that they should not be subjected to the disgrace of expulsion. But it is not easy to see how the proposal, that those who were expelled and those who resigned should be published in one indiscriminate list, would induce resignations. Rather the contrary. It would mitigate the disgrace of the expelled, but would be little reward to the "pudor sponte cedentium." If this is not one of the absurdities of Claudius's censorship (cf. Suet. Claud. 16), I think we should read *nec motos senatu . . . cedentium impermixta ignominiam mollirent*. Neither of these changes is very violent. *Impermixtus* is found in Lucilius. Such compounds are necessarily rare : cf. *impermisus*, which seems to occur only in Horace, Odes, iii. 6. 27.

xi. 38. 5. Decreta Narcisso quaestoria insignia, levissimum fastidii eius, cum super Pallantem et Callistum ageret.

Editors usually adopt Ernesti's correction *fastidio*, or Haase's *fastidiis*, translating 'a most insignificant reward

for his disdain'; or alter, with the inferior MSS., to *fastigii*, 'a most trifling element in his rise.' Orelli retains *fastidii* the reading of Med., understanding it to mean 'the honour was the least ground of his haughtiness.' But in all these cases we should expect some substantive with *levissimum*. Perhaps we should read *levissimus* and add <*cumulus*> before *cum*, retaining *fastidii*, 'a most paltry crown for his arrogant aspirations': cf. Hist. i. 77 *Otho pontificatus auguratusque honoratis iam senibus cumulum dignitatis addidit*. For a somewhat similar kind of sentence compare xii. 28. 2: *decretusque Pomponio triumphalis honos, modica pars famae eius apud posteros*.

xii. 6. 4. Statueretur immo documentum, quo uxorem imperator (lacuna of five letters) acciperet.

Ritter adds *a patribus*; but it is unlikely that such a common word would have been omitted. Orelli gives *a re p.*, comparing Plin. Ep. iv. 15, 10 *liberos a re p. accipere*. Perhaps *a P. R.*, i.e. *a populo Romano*, which might have fallen out after *IPR* (= imperator).

xii. 64. 2. Biformes hominum partus et suis fetum *ediditum* (so Med.), cui accipitrum ungues inessent.

Editors usually alter to *editum*; but still it is strange that Tacitus would not have added a verb of speaking, when passing into the oratio obliqua after previous sentences of direct narration. It is improbable that *fetum* is nominative, both on account of the fact that this form is not found elsewhere, and also because the subjunctive *inessent* points to sentence of indirect narration. The latter objection applies to *fetus editus* of Lipsius, and to *fetu editum* of Jo. Müller (meaning 'by the parturition of a sow a creature was born,' &c.). Madvig (Adv. Crit. ii. 552) proposes either to supply *memorabant*, or to suppose

that *ediditum* is a corruption of *editum esse creditum*. Possibly we should read *est diditum*, 'it was noised abroad': (cf. xi. 1. 1 *didita per provincias fama*; cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 144, viii. 132, and often in Lucretius), and supply *esse* after *biformes*. Francken, in 'Mnemosyne,' xvii. 357, wishes to read *cui accipitrini unguis essent*.

xiii. 21. 6. *Baiarum suarum piscinas extollebat*.

'She was adorning (cf. xi. 1. 1) the fish-ponds of her favourite Baiae' (Furneaux). There is no necessity to press *suarum*, for *Baias* is not infrequently used for a villa at Baiae: cf. Cic. Att. xi. 6, 6 *Lentulus Hortensii domum sibi et Caesaris hortos et Baias desponderat*; ib. xii. 40. 3 *ibi* (sc. at Astura) *sum igitur, ubi is qui optimas Baias habebat quotannis hoc tempus consumere solebat*.

xiii. 28. 5. *Tamquam ius hastae adversus inopes inclementer augetet*.

It has been supposed that, as *g* is in an erasure, the original reading may have been *auderet*. Others prefer *ageret*. If *augetet* is retained it must be translated 'extended, stretched the rights of sale'; but a parallel for *augere ius* in this sense should be adduced. Perhaps *urgeret*, 'unmercifully pressed against poor men the strict law in the case of sales': cf. Cic. Off. iii. 67 *ius Crassus urgebat . . . aequitatem Antonius*.

xiii. 41. 4. *Adicitur miraculum velut numine oblatum: nam cuncta extra tectis actenus* (so Med.) *sole inlustrata fuere: quod moenibus cingebatur repente ita atra nube coopertum, &c.*

The correction adopted by Halm and Furneaux is that of Acidalius, *Artaxatis tenus*, which is very bold, and introduces the name of the town where we should only expect some common noun like *urbe* or *oppido*. The right

reading is probably that suggested by Heller ("Philologus," 1892, p. 326), *extra ac tectis tenus*, 'all the part outside and right up to the houses of the city.' The *ac* may have been omitted between the *a* of *extra* and *t* of *tectis*, then added above the line and afterwards copied into the wrong place. There was probably a space between the fortifications and the dwellinghouses which formed the town.

xiii. 42. 8. Crimen, periculum, omnia potius toleraturum quam veterem ac *dō* partam dignationem subitae felicitati submitteret.

In this violent tirade of Suillius against Seneca, what does *dō* stand for? *dicendo* say Spengel and Orelli; *ac dō* is *agendo* say Dräger and Döderlein; Pichena suggests *diu*, opposing it to *subitae*; Heller proposes *sudando* (comparing Dial. 4), most improbably. Rather *domi*, as is suggested by Gronovius, which is a common proverbial expression, generally used with *nasci*, to signify a thing which is a person's own, and need not be sought from others: this use is found in Dial. 9, and often in Cicero's Epistles, Att. i. 19. 3; x. 14. 2; Fam. ix. 3. 2: add Senec. Ep. 23. 3. But the corruption will be better explained if we read *domo*: cf. Cic. Fam. vii. 5 *domo petes*; Cluent. 27 *domo sibi quaerendum remedium existimavit*; Phil. ii. 26 *ab alienis potius consilium peterent quam a suis? et foris potius quam domo?* also in the phrase *domo doctus*, Plaut. Merc. 355, Poen. 216, Truc. 453: cf. Amph. 637.

xiii. 44. 6. Tum, ut adsolet in amore et ira, iurgia preces, exprobratio satisfactio, et pars tenebrarum libidini seposita; *et* *quastim census* nihil metuentem ferro transverberat, &c.

All editors read *incensus*, but diverge widely in their opinions as to the proper correction of *et quast*. Halm, Dräger, Heller, and Furneaux suppose that *quasi* lurks therein, and that *et* is a corruption of *ex*. Accordingly,

they read *ex qua quasi*, or *exim quasi*. But Octavius was of an ungovernable and passionate nature, *amore vaecors* (§ 1), so that it is probable that his frenzy was real, and not simulated, and that the well-known embrace to which he must henceforth be a stranger, made his jealousy flame up. So that Walther's reading seems most appropriate, *ex qua statim incensus*; or perhaps better, *seposita est : qua statim incensus*.

xiv. 4. 6. Satis constitit extitisse proditorem et Agrippinam auditis insidiis, an crederet ambiguum, gestamine sellae *Baulos* pervectam.

So the MSS. Nearly all editors alter to *Baias*. But perhaps *Baulos* is defensible. There seems little doubt that Bauli was where Nero was staying, and where he entertained Agrippina : cf. Dio Cass. lxi. 13. 1.¹ Probably she came from Antium to the harbour of Misenum, one of the stations of the Roman fleet, and was met there by Nero, who offered her a splendid boat wherein to escort her round to Bauli. She declined the offer, and drove by land. At Bauli she was entertained by Nero, and her fears of any foul play were dispelled. She accepted the offer of the boat to bring her on to her villa near the Lucrine lake, and on the journey the murderous attempt was made. Agrippina was going, according to Dio Cassius, from Bauli οἰκάδε.

xiv. 5. 2. ruere tectum *loci* multo plumbo grave.

loci seems a strange word to use for a cabin, or awning. Suetonius (Nero 34) uses *camarae*; hence apparently Haase

¹ Suetonius (Nero 34) considers that Nero gave the feast at Baiae, and that Agrippina's villa was at Bauli. But this view is at variance with Tacitus (xiv. 5 *fin.*), who would seem to consider that Agrippina's villa was near the

Lucrine lake (perhaps between it and Baiae), and with Dio Cassius. In another passage (Calig. 19), Suetonius confuses Baiae and Bauli (cf. Dio Cass. lix. 17. 1), so that his statement cannot carry much weight.

has conjectured *tholi*. Seneca uses *cubiculata* of a ship with cabins for sleeping in (*De Beneficiis*, vii. 20. 3); but it is hardly possible to read *cubiculi* here. The sleeping cabins must have been below. A word used for an awning in late writers is *parada*: cf. Sidonius, *Epist.* viii. 12. 5 *hic superflexa crate paradarum sereni brumalis infida vitabis*; and Ausonius *Ep.* v. 394. 29 (p. 253, ed. Peiper) *Expositum subter paradas lectoque iacentum*.¹

xiv. 15. 6. Postremum ipse scaenam incedit, multa cura temptans citharam et praemeditans adsistentibus *facies* accesserat cohors militum.

Most editors since Muretus alter *facies* to *phonascis* (a very violent change), owing to the statement made by Suetonius (Nero 25) about a custom of Nero at a later date, *neque milites umquam . . . appellaret neque quicquam serio iocove egerit nisi adstante phonasco*. Madvig (*Adv. Crit.* iii. 233) puts a full stop at *adsistentibus*, and interprets the passage 'a strange phenomenon (*facies*) was also seen in the appearance of a troop of soldiers.' Neither of these views seems satisfactory. Possibly we might read *adsistenti urbis faeci*. *Accesserat*: cf. Cic. *Q. Fr.* ii. 4 (6). 5 *apud perditissimam illam atque infimam faecem populi propter Milonem suboffendit* (*Pompeius*); Att. i. 16. 11 *apud sordem urbis et faecem multo melius nunc sum quam reliquisti*. A few lines before (§ 4) we should perhaps add *res* after *corruptis*. The word *res* would seem to be sometimes omitted in the Tacitean manuscripts: cf. *Ann.* i. 35. 3; xiii. 49. 2. Madvig adds *pestis*.

xiv. 16. 1. Carminum quoque studium adfectavit, contractis quibus aliqua pangendi facultas necdum insignis taetatis natū considerare simul, &c.

¹ The whole stern of the ship would seem to have been covered with an awning of this kind made of wicker-

work, which easily gave way under heavy pressure.

Many are the guesses of learned scholars on this passage (see Halm and Furneaux); but it is not likely that finality will be reached until we find better manuscripts than we have. To the cairn of guesses let us add yet another, *necdum insignis arte et scientia* (scīa). *Hi considerare simul*, &c.: cf. Dial. 33 *neque enim tantum arte et scientia, sed longe magis facultate et <usu> eloquentiam contineri*.

xiv. 20. 7. An *fius titia auguriū et decurias equitum egregium iudicandi munus expleturos*, si fractos sonus et dulcedinem vocum perite audissent.

Most edd., after Madvig (Adv. Crit. ii. 553), give *iustitiam auctum iri*, altering also to *expleturas*. Lipsius gives *iustitiam augeri*; Heller (l. c. p. 328), *ipsos officia augurii*. It would certainly seem that *augurii* should not be altered; the augurate was a distinction bestowed on senators, and one much valued: cf. Hist. i. 77 *Otho pontificatus auguratusque honoratis iam senibus cumulum dignitatis addidit*. And we must suppose that some reference should be made to the performance of distinctive duties by the senate, as well as by the equites. Possibly there may be some allusion to the *Titii Sodales*, an ancient and venerable religious corporation, which was confined to senators, and was concerned with augury: cf. Tac. Ann. i. 54. 1 and Furneaux ad loc.; also Varro, L. L. v. 85 *sodales Titii dicti ab Titiiis avibus quas in auguriis certis observare solent*. See also Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung, iii. 427, 428; Preller, Röm. Mythologie ii. 352. Accordingly, we may suggest the following reading, *an iusta Titii augurii et decurias equitum egregium iudicandi munus expleturos*, the subject to *expleturos* referring to the same people as the subject to the verbs in the preceding clause (*nudent, adsumant, meditentur*); and the masculine *expleturos* being retained, even though *decurias equitum* (which is feminine only in form,

in the interval. There does not seem any strong reason to have substituted such a *verbum* with *explicitus*. The student will probably regard professional skill in making a translation positively indicative the power of a scholar in dealing the higher classes of senatorial and consular text.

in 21. 3. *Quodam modo in ore maritimo insuetum, ut et ceteris speciebus animalium videretur, ut exultat.*

The meaning is so plain that the strangeness of the sentence is not noticed by the commentators. 'He buried his consciousness by the entrances and exits': but nothing is said of the fugitives in the caves. Probably we should read *exultat* for *exultat*.

in 21. 3. *Quodam modo in ore maritimo insuetum, ut et ceteris speciebus animalium videretur, ut exultat.*

Becker and Halm read *exultat* for *exultat*. The corruption is improbable. Rather perhaps *abhorret*: cf. Hist. iv. 33 *exultat* *abhorret* *abhorret*. For an example of letters lost from the middle of a word in Med., cf. xv. 3. 4 *exultat* for *exultat*.

xv. 26. 3. *Adhuc et praesidium mille legionum, tres sociorum cohortes, ceterum equum alae, et qui facilius novum regnum videretur, pars Armenia cum cinque finitima pars nipulique et Antiochia atque Antiocho parere iussae sunt.*

All editors read *Armeniae ut cuique finitima*, which may be considered certain. For *pars nipulique* J. F. Gronovius reads *Pharasmani Polcmonique*; Madvig, *Phar-asmanique*. But it is highly probable that part of Armenia

¹ Mr. Beare points out to me that it almost necessitates that the subject of the first clause should be expressed, and suggests the addition of *eorum*. If

we suppose that this word was lost before *ius*, there will be an additional reason for the retention of *expleturus*.

was put under the power of Polemo, King of Pontus. For if the parts of Armenia adjacent to the dominions of Pharasmanes (Iberia), Polemo (Pontus), Aristobulus (Lesser Armenia), and Antiochus (Commagene) were assigned to these several kings, all the boundaries of the country, except where it bordered on the Parthian empire, would be in the hands of princes who were vassals of Rome. We can suppose that, just as Roman troops on a considerable scale were assigned to Tigranes, so some small detachments were assigned to each of these princes, to help to guard the frontiers. For it is difficult to suppose that *nipulique* is not the remains of *manipulique*, the *ma* having been ousted by *pars*, which was a gloss written above the line after *finitima*. The addition of Gronovius, which might easily have dropped out if the copyist had continued at the second *-ique*, will then make the sentence run thus—*pars Armeniae ut cuique finitima manipulique <in ea Pharasmani Polemonique> et Aristobulo, &c.*

xiv. 31. 3. Praecipui quique Icenorum, quasi cunctam regionem muneri accepissent, avitis bonis exuuntur.

It is very harsh to understand a subject to *accepissent* different from that to *exuuntur*. Hence we must either add *<Romani>* with Ritter or *<nostri>* (= *nri*) after *muneri* with Mr. Haverfield, or make some such alteration as that of Weidner ('Jahrb.' 1894, p. 855) *quasi cuncta regio muneri accessissent*.

xiv. 33. 4. Eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit, quia barbari omissis castellis praesidiisque *militarium*, quod uberrimum spoliandi et defendentibus intutum, laeti praeda et laborum segnes petebant.

The form *militares* is sometimes (e.g. iii. 1. 2) used for *milites*, as *equestres* is used for *equites* (cf. xii. 60. 3). But such an addition seems otiose here, and we should wish for an antecedent to *quod*. Hence there is much to be said for

the proposal made by the "philologus amanuensis" or Madvig (Adv. Crit. iii. 234, note) to read *militare horreum*, though the plural would be more satisfactory, as far as the sense went. Perhaps *militare aerarium*, which may well have been the name of the military chest of each province, as well as of the central military chest at Rome.

xiv. 42. 2. concursu plebis, quae tot innoxios protegebat, usque ad seditionem ventum est senatusque <obsessus> in quo ipso erant studia nimiam severitatem aspernantium.

Nearly all editors supply *obsessus*, there being no verb in the MSS.; Walter ("Jahrb." 1888, p. 728) supplies <*aditus*>. But there does not appear to be any reason why either of these words should have fallen out. Heraeus gives <*vocatus*>. Better perhaps <*invocatus*>, 'is appealed to': cf. i. 75. 3 *auxilium patrum invocabat*; ii. 71. 4 *erit vobis locus querendi apud senatum, invocandi leges*. This is really a less violent proceeding than to read, with Lipsius and Ritter, *senatuque in ipso erant*.

xiv. 56. 2. Quin, si qua in parte lubricum adulescentiae nostrae declinat, revocas ornatumque robur subsidio impensius regis?

The last clause, 'furnish my manhood with support and guide it more diligently,' seems a little overloaded, and one would wish to have *subsidio tuo*. Possibly we should read *orbatumque*, 'and guide more diligently my manhood, which has no support to uphold it.'

xiv. 60. 3. Eucaerus, natione Alexandrinus, canere ptybias doctus.

Ritter reads *puer tibiis*. Elsewhere we find *per* in Med. for what is most probably *puer*, viz. xii. 26. 2 *desolatus paulatim etiam servilibus ministeriis puer (per Med.) intempestiva novercae officia in ludibrium vertebat*.

In the last line of the chapter there appears to be an omission of this nature, *his tam<en a Nerone neglectis opinio percrebruit tam>quam*, or *his quamquam <a Nerone neglectis opinio percrebruit tamquam>* For *quamquam* with abl. abs., cf. Hist. i. 60.

xiv. 61. 2. *Itur etiam in principis laudes repetitum venerantium. Iamque et Palatium multitudine et clamoribus complebant cum emissi militum globi . . . turbatos disiecere.*

The words *repetitum venerantium* are generally considered corrupt, and bracketed. The MS. Agr. reads *expetitum venerantibus*, and the Harleian MS. *repetita veneratione*, which are only conjectures. Possibly, if we transposed *repetitum venerantium* to follow *Palatium*, and understood *repetitum* as meaning 'another visit was paid to the palace,' we shall get a tolerable sense. The crowd made a demonstration at the Palatium, where the emperor was staying (*itur etiam in principis laudes*). That crowd retired, but anon a return visit was paid, with probably a larger concourse of people, wishing to show respect and gratitude for his recalling Octavia.

xiv. 61. 5. *Quod alioquin suum delictum ? . . . an quia veram progeniem penatibus Caesarum data sit ? malle populum tibicinis Aegyptii subolem imperatorio fastigio induci ?*

It is most unusual to omit the interrogative particle in oratio obliqua. Accordingly, Ritter reads *malle<ne>*. A simpler remedy would be to read *<scilicet> malle, &c.*, and omit the note of interrogation after *induci*. In a very similar speech Poppaea uses *scilicet*: cf. xiv. 1. 2 *cur enim differri nuptias suas ; formam scilicet displicere*; and the abbreviated form of the word might readily have been lost after *sit*. In ii. 15. 4, I think we should read *<an> aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitutem ?*

xv. 3. 1. Quippe bellum habere quam gerere malebat (sc. Corbulo).

Madvig (Adv. Crit. iii. 235) holds that *habere bellum* cannot mean 'to protract' the war; and also remarks "neque turpe, quod his verbis in Corbulonem confertur, crimen belli suae utilitatis causa trahendi ulla ex parte cum reliqua Taciti de Corbulone narratione." True, a parallel cannot be quoted for *habere bellum*, but it does not seem as if it ought to be more unusual Latin than 'to have on hands' would be in English. However, it is possible that in the archetype the word stood thus, ^{tra}here, and that here was mistaken for *hēre* (= *habere*), the *tra* being neglected; for the usual contrast would seem to be *trahere* and *gerere*: cf. Livy v. 10. 7 *unum bellum annum iam tertium trahi et consulto male geri ut diutius gerant*. Madvig is in error in supposing that Tacitus does not attribute to Corbulo a certain slackness in the conduct of the war in order to get the greater glory for himself: cf., for example, 10. 7 *nec a Corbulone properatum, quo gliscentibus periculis etiam subsidii laus augetur*. Under this idea, that Tacitus always approves of Corbulo's conduct of the war, he wishes to read *cavere* for *habere*.

xv. 10. 7. Aegre compulsus ferunt ut instantem Corbuloni fateretur (sc. Paetus).

Editors say *hostem* is to be supplied for the context. But this seems rather harsh. Prammer supplies <*vim*> before *instantem*. But even that leaves a slight anomaly, as this is the only passage quoted where *fateri* takes the participle in Tacitus. It would seem that *instantem* conceals *instare*, and some substantive like *hostem*, or *regem*, or *equitem*.

xv. 13. 2. Neque eandem vim Samnitibus, Italico populo, aut Poenis, Romani populi aemulis.

So the manuscripts: but this reading, viz. *aut Poenis*,

as Mr. Furneaux says, "has been very generally regarded as corrupt; for no good reason can be shown for bringing the Carthaginians into the comparison, nor would it be true that that power had never been so strong relatively to Rome, as the Parthian Empire." Accordingly, Orelli obelises the MSS. reading; Halm and Mr. Furneaux read *ac Parthis*; Nipperdey, *ut Parthis*; Ritter, *aut Hispanis, ut Parthis*. It is not easy to see what there is to object to in the MSS. reading, which Haase rightly adopts without any mark of corruption, and to which Heller (p. 329) also adheres. Surely there is very good reason for bringing the Carthaginians into the question, as Rome had to fight for her life with Hannibal, as well as with the Samnites; and as regards Mr. Furneaux's second objection, we must not look for scrupulous accuracy of statement in the exaggerated language of panic-stricken fugitives.

xv. 21. 2, 3. At nunc colimus externos et adulamur, et quo modo ad nutum alicuius grates, ita promptius accusatio decernitur. Decernaturque et maneat provincialibus potentiam suam tali modo ostentandi.

This latter clause stands on quite a different footing from the other two passages usually quoted for this use of the gerund, xiii. 26. 4 *nec grave manu missis per idem obsequium retinendi libertatem, per quod adsecuti sint*; xv. 5. 3 *Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat arma Romana vitandi*: for in both these places there is a neuter adjective which can in a measure supply the place of a substantive. Madvig, indeed (Adv. Crit. ii. 553, iii. 235), finds a difficulty in both these passages, and adds in the former *onus*, in the latter *votum* (after *vetus*¹); but Halm is probably right in considering that the passage before us is the only one which calls for emendation. He inserts <ius> before *potentiam*:

¹ In the latter passage Boot ('Mnemosyne,' 1896, p. 224) reads *Vologesi metus et penitus infixum erat arma Romana vitanda*.

Ritter adds <potestas> before *provincialibus*; Madvig (Adv. Crit. ii. 556), with great ingenuity, holds that *potentiam* is a corruption of *po<testas sen>lentiam*. Perhaps the simplest correction would be to add <mos> before *ostentandi*. It might readily have fallen out between *m*^o (= *modo*) and *ost*-. For *mos* with the gerund, cf. Hist. i. 90 *ex more adulandi*; Vell. ii. 128. 1 *mos . . . putandi quod optimum sit esse nobilissimum*.

xv. 25. 5. *Suriaequae* †*excutio*† C. Cestio, *copiae militares* Corbuloni *permissae*.

The corrupt word is generally supposed to represent *exsecutio*, and such phrases as *exsequi munia* are quoted in its support. But could we say *exsequi Suriam* or 'to carry out, to fulfil Syria'? Rather we want a word signifying 'administration,' 'management' generally, not necessarily 'civil administration,' as opposed to military, for that is sufficiently indicated by the contrast with the clause which states that the military forces were assigned to Corbulo. Such a word is *curatio*: cf. Cic. N. D. i. 2 *utrum di omni curatione et administratione rerum vacent*. As to the *ex*-, we may either suppose it to have crept in as it did in xvi. 21. 1 (where Med. reads *et expectabilem* for *spectabilem*); or possibly it is the remains of *ex eo*, 'thereupon,' or 'after that': cf. iii. 28. 4. Madvig (Adv. Crit. ii. 557) says, "scribendum sine dubio *Syriae iurisdictio*, &c.," but he does not explain how the corruption arose.

xv. 35. 3. †*Qui ne Innobiles*† *habere quos ab epistulis et libellis et rationibus appellet, nomina summae curae et meditamenta*.

That we should read *quin eum* may be regarded as almost certain. There remains *nobiles* to be accounted for. That Torquatus could even have been supposed to have Roman nobles in such positions as are mentioned is inconceivable. So that the word must be either excised (Orelli)

or corrected. Halm and Nipperdey read *inter liberos*, with which may be compared the similar charge against Silanus, the nephew of Torquatus (xvi. 8. 1), *tamquam disponeret iam imperii curas praeficeretque rationibus et libellis et epistulis liberos*. Ritter proposes *ignobiles*; Ruperti *viles*. Heller ("Philologus," 1892, p. 329) suggests *non viles*, i.e. not mere slaves; for they were usually employed in such menial offices. The fact that Torquatus employed men who were not slaves, that is freedmen, was the point in which he set himself on the same level as the Emperor.

This would seem to be the meaning, and it is quite possible that Heller's reading may be right: it certainly deserves high commendation. But perhaps the corruption would be better accounted for if we read *notabiles*, 'men of some mark': cf. *personam notabilem* in Dial. 10. In Hist. iii. 39 Med. reads *nobili* for *notabili*.

xv. 38. 5. *Fessa aetate aut rudis pueritiae aetas*.

Various corrections have been proposed, e.g. to omit *aetas* (Halm), to omit *aetate* (Lipsius), to omit both *aetate* and *pueritiae* (Haase), or to read *fessa aevo* (Heller). The MS. Agr. has *senum* for *aetate*; so that possibly what was in the original MS. was *senectute*, and *ectute* was altered into *aetate*. Then *fessa senectute aetas* would be an amplified form of the usual *fessa aetas*.

xv. 38. 7. *Quidam amissis omnibus fortunis, diurni quoque victus, alii caritate suorum, quos eripere nequiverant, quamvis patente effugio interiere*.

There is considerable difficulty as to the construction of *diurni quoque victus*. Mr. Furneaux says, "from *fortunis* some general idea of 'means of providing' appears to be supplied"; and adds, "the omission is harsh." Indeed, it seems hardly possible. Some word is generally added—*copia* (Nipperdey and Prammer), *inopia* (Ernesti), *penuria*

(Francken); while Brotier gives *diurno quoque victu*. But none of these alterations account for the corruption. Perhaps *alii carentes* has fallen out before *alii caritate*. Tacitus does not appear to use *carere* with the genitive, but he uses that construction with *egere* and *indigere*. If this is felt to be an insuperable objection, some other word can be substituted with *alii*, such as *egentes* or *egeni* (Ritter); but the omission will not then be so well accounted for.

xv. 43. 4. Ruderer accipiendo Ostienses paludes destinabat, utique naves . . . onustae rudere decurrerent . . . ; iam aqua privatorum licentia intercepta quo largior et pluribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes, et subsidia reprimendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet.

The force of *destinabat* pervades the whole passage, so that there can be little doubt that Madvig (Adv. Crit. iii. 236) is virtually right in adding *essent* after *custodes*, and before ET. It might, however, be a slight improvement to add *adessent*, which might have fallen out after *custodes*, and before ET: cf. 46. 1 *praesidio militis qui custos adesset*, and the word *addere*, which is so often used of placing a guard over a person or thing (Hor. Od. iii. 4. 78; Verg. Aen. vi. 90).

xv. 51. 1. Epicharis quaedam, incertum quonam modo sciscitata (neque illi ante ulla rerum honestarum cura fuerat).

Church and Brodribb translate 'she informed herself.' It is just possible that the word is to be taken passively, 'she was asked (solicited) to join.' An old conjecture, *suscitata*, 'she was roused to action,' has been approved of by Madvig (Adv. Crit. iii. 237, note). Perhaps *socia adscita*.

xv. 51. 4. Ergo Epicharis plura et omnia scelera principis orditur: neque senatui quid manere.

Madvig (Adv. Crit. ii. 557) and Halm read <neque

populo > *neque senatui quid<quam> manere*. Thomas reads *neque sancti quid manere*; Andresen, *neque sancti quidquam manere*. Perhaps *ne senatui quidem quidquam manere*, 'not even to the senate' (much less to any other part of the constitution, except the Emperor). Med. often gives *nec* for *ne*, e.g. Hist. i. 66; ii. 15; iv. 38. *Neque . . . quidem* is very rare: cf. Madvig, Fin. pp. 809-815.

xv. 54. 4. Postremo vulneribus ligamenta quibusque sistitur sanguis *partiebatque* eundem Milichum monet.

To read *parare* for *partiebatque* is an easy proceeding, and makes excellent sense. But how did the corruption arise? It certainly seems as if some tense of *partire* was used. Ritter suggests *partiebat, idque*. Perhaps *partiebat; quae eundem Milichum movent*. In 55. 5 Scaevinus says *fomenta vulneribus nulla iussu suo*; but Scaevinus, on his examination, may have avoided even hinting at his having himself performed an act which ought to have been left to his inferiors. If, however, this is considered unsatisfactory, it will not be very extravagant to read *parti<re iub>ebat, quae . . . movent*. It was this strange proceeding of distributing appliances for staunching wounds which aroused the suspicions of Milichus.

xv. 58. 3. Atque ubi dicendam ad causam introissent *latatum* erga coniuratos et fortuitus sermo et subiti occursus, si convivium, si spectaculum simul inissent, pro crimine accipi.

Most edd. read *laetatum*, 'the fact of having smiled at meeting a conspirator,' which seems a strange way of expressing the idea. In this sense the reading of Ritter, *laeta tum <verba>*, would be more satisfactory. It might possibly be *delata tum*, 'the informations then laid, whether chance conversation or unexpected meeting, dining or attending a spectacle together, were taken as a proof of guilt.' The neuter is used, as the informations comprised

all the facts enumerated, not merely the *fortuitus sermo et subiti occursus*.

xv. 59. 9. Nomen mulieris Atria Galla.

As Acidalius and Andresen have pointed out, this should be read *nomen mulieri Satria Galla*. The dat. is the usual construction: see many examples in Gerber and Greef, p. 950. It is doubtful if there is any certain example of the genitive in Tacitus. In Hist. ii. 4 we should probably read *sacerdoti* with Heinsius for *sacerdotis* (corr. from *sacerdotii*); and in Hist. iii. 50, *donativi nomen est* is, with Halm, to be taken as a gloss. Besides, the name *Satrius* is quite common in inscriptions; the name *Atrius* rare; so that there is a presumption that the name is *Satria*.

xv. 62. 1. (Seneca) imaginem vitae suae relinquere testatur, cuius si memores essent, bonarum artium famam *tā* constantis amicitiae laturos.

Editors mostly suppose that *tā* conceals some noun; and *fructum*, *pretium*, *laudem*, *famam* have been suggested. Perhaps it represents nothing more than *ā* (i.e. *ac*), which was copied *cā*, and passed into *tā*.

xvi. 2. 3. †Auaratoribus† oratoribusque praecipua materia in laudem principis adsumpta est.

Old edd. read *a narratoribus orat.*; most recent editors suppose a dittography, and read *ab oratoribusque*. It seems strange that they do not appear to mention Haase's suggestion, *adulatoribus oratoribusque* (perhaps *ab adul. or.*): cf. a few lines below, *quaeque alia summa facundia nec minore adulatione servilia fingeant*.

xvi. 5. 4. Ferebantque Vespasianum, tamquam somno coniveret, a Phoebō liberto increpitum.

Phoebus was, of course, the freedman of Nero, not of

Vespasian; so that it would seem that <principis> or <imperatoris> should be added before *increpitum*, before which word it might easily have fallen out. In xiii. 21. 7 Nero is mentioned a few lines before; but in the passage before us he has not been mentioned during the whole of the chapter, and is only indirectly alluded to in the preceding sentence, *unde . . . odium*.

xvi. 28. 4. Facilius perlattiros singula *increpatium* quam nunc silentium perferrent omnia damnantis.

A later hand has corrected to *increpantium*. The cod. Guelferbytanus reads *increpantem*; but Madvig (Adv. Crit. ii. 559) is doubtless right in reading *increpantis*, with some substantive which would form an antithesis to *silentium*. He gives *vocem*: but perhaps some more contemptuous word ending in *-um* would have been more liable to corruption, such as *strepitum* or *odium*.

L. C. PURSER.

FRAGMENT OF A GREEK ROMANCE.

IN the *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* of 21st February, 1897, Dr. Mahaffy published a first transcription of the *verso* of a papyrus acquired by him at Medinet-el-Fayoum, together with photographs of the *recto* and *verso*. The text, as published, was full of lacunæ, and many of the readings were very doubtful. In compliance with the request made by Professor Wilcken in the second number of the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, I have made a careful and prolonged study of the original, and now submit the result of my investigations. My thanks are due to Professor J. B. Bury for several valuable suggestions.

ε[.] ἐποχαῖς παραλῖαις δ[.]ξ.... παρὲκάλουν,
 δυσώρου τῆς καταστ[άσεως οὔσης] καὶ γὰρ ἐλάν-
 θα[ν]εν ἐν ἐπισημασίᾳ[ις] ὑ[.....] καθεστῶσα,
 μένειν αὐτόθι τὴν ἐπ[ιούσαν] ἡμέ[ρ]αν, ἐπιδουναί
 τ' εἰς] εὐφροσύνην [.....]στατος δὲ εἰς κατοχὴν 5
 ἀπ[ο]δημίας οἰωνό[ς] ..[.... εὐ]φροσύνου με-
 τά[κ]λησις· κἀγὼ μὲν [ἐβ]ουλόμην μένειν· τῶν
 δὲ [κ]υβερνητῶν στασ[ιαζόντων, ὁ μὲν ἡ]μέτερος
 ἡπείεγετο πλεῖν, ὁ δ[ὲ] τῆς μεγάλης νεὼς] συνε-
 τεκμαίρετο χειμῶνα πλῖσ[τον κ]αὶ ἴσως ἀνείκη- 10
 τον. ἔδοξεν οὖν πλεῖν· ἀσπασάμεν[οι] τοῖνυν ἀλ-

λήλ[ο]υς καὶ θρήνον ἀλκύνειον ἐγεί[ροντ]ες, εἰς τὴν
 ο[ἰ]κε[ί]αν ἐκάτερος ἐμβάντε[ς] ναῦν ὦ[λο]φυρόμε-
 θα, [σκ]οποῦντες ἀλλήλους φι[λή]ματά τε ταῖς χερσὶ
 β[άλλο]ντες. ἡ μὲν οὖν με[γ]άλη ναὺς βραδύτερόν 15
 τι ἔ[ξ]ωπλίζετο, τάχειον δ' ἡμεῖς ἐξ[ε]π[λε]ύσαμεν.
 ἡλίον δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τὸν ἔκπλ[ου]ν φ[α]νέ[το]ς, αὐτίκα
 δὲ ζοφεραῖς ἐνκρυβέντος νεφέλ[αι]ς, α[ἰ]φνίδιον
 κο[ι]λὸν τε καὶ βραχὺ βροντήσα[ν]τος, ἡμεῖς μὲν
 οὐκέτ' ἀναστρέψαι μετανοοῦντες ἐδυνάμεθα, 20
 πυκνὸν γὰρ εἶπετο πνεῦμ[α] κατόπιν. ἡ δὲ τῆς Ἑρ-
 πυλλίδος ἄκατος οὐκέτ' ἀνήχθη, κατεστῶν δ' ἀπὸ
 τοῦ τείχους ἀνακαλουμέν[η]. πρὸς βραχὺ δ' ὀρώ-
 τέ[ς] σ[φ]ας ἡρπαζόμεθα, πνεῦμα γὰρ ἄθρουν ἐγ-
 κ[ατέ]ρρηξεν ἀπηλιωτικὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀκρω- 25
 τ[ηρίου] καὶ τὴν μὲν κεραίαν οὐκ ἦν παραβαλεῖν,
 .[....].αν γὰρ οὐκ εἶσχυε φέρειν ἡ προθμὶς τὴν
 θάλατταν· ε...ζ... δὲ τὸ κέρας οὖριον ἔχοντες
 ἐ[ν]τετα[μέν]οις τοῖς ἀκατίοις τοῦ προκειμένου μὲν
 ἡ[μ]βρ[ό]τομεν δρόμον, παρὰ [δὲ] τὸν Λάκτηρα, χαλεπώ-
 τατο]ν ἀκρωτήριον, κατὰ τὸ Κρητικὸν ἐσυρό- 31
 με]θα πέλαγος, οὐδὲ τὴν Νίσυρον καθορᾶν ἔτι
 δυν]άμενοι διὰ τὴν συννέφειαν· ἥς ἐφείεμε-
 νοι]..... βλέπειν ἀπετύχομεν. μετὰ

δὲ] νοσῶδει παραδόντες πελάγει τῶν μὲν εἰ]s 35
 σωτ]ηρίαν οὐδ[ε]ν παρὸν ἑωρῶμεν, ὀλέθρου [δ' οὐ
 προ]σδοκία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πόθος ἦν ἅπασιν.
 ἦδη] γὰρ θ[ά]λαττα ἄγαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος συ-
 ρ[ομ]ένη εἰς ἄπειρ[ο]ν, πυκνῶ μὲν οὐκ [ἐτ]ραχύνε-
 τ[ο π]νεύματι, κοιλα[ι]νομένη δ' εἰς ἄπειρον ἐξ ἴσου 40
 ὄρεσ]ιν ἐκορυφοῦτο, μέλαινά τ' ἦν ὑπὸ ζόφου τοῦ πε-
 ρ[ιέχ]οντος ἐσκιασμένη. τὸ πνεῦμά τε στάσιν οὐ
 μὲν πο]λεμίαν, γνοφ[ο]εῖδη δὲ κυκλόθεν ἀδοκῆτοῖς
 ἐ[ρρί]πιζον ἀῆται πη[ο]ιαῖς, οἱ μὲν ψειλοὺς πνεύμα-
 τ[ος] πρηστήρας, οἱ] δ' ὄμβρους καθιέντες. ἅπας 45
 δ[ε] κ]όσμος ἐν κύκλῳ περιεβροντᾶτο, πυκναὶ δὲ
 ἀν[τ]ήστραπτον ἀλλήλαις ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ λαμπάδες, ἀγ-
 χό[θι] δὲ πολλάκις ἑωρ[ῶ]με[ν] οὐρανόθ^{ον} πῦρ ἀπ[οτ]οξευ-
 όμ[ε]νον· ἦν [δ' α]δηλ[ο]ν εἴτε νύξ εἴτ' ἡμέρα καθεισ-
 τή[κ]ει σκότους ὁμοι[ό]τητι· συνεπληρούμεθα [δ' ὑ]πὸ 50
 τῇ[s τ]ῶν κυμάτων ἐπιβολῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν γνόφων
 ἐ[πομ]βρίας· ἦν δ' οὔτε γῆν [ι]δεῖν οὔτε οὐρανόν· πε-
 πν[κασ]μένη δὲ νυκτ[ι] ἢ ναῦς] συνείχετο, καὶ ποτὲ
 μ[ε]ν κατόπιν ἡμερ[ινὸν φῶς] ἐφίστατ[ο, π]οτὲ δ' ἐν-
 ηρεῖ]δετο κύμα· πολλά[κις δὲ κα]ὶ τῆς κεραίας ἐβάλ- 55
 λον[το] πυρσοὶ βραχεῖς [μέρος] ἐς ἐκάτερον, εἴτ' ἄσ-
 τρ', ὥς] ἔφασκον οἱ να[ῦται Διοσ]κόρων προσωνυμί-

αν [λέγ]οντες, εἴτ' ἀστρ[οειδεῖς σ]πινθήρες ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πνεύματος ῥηπιζό[μενοι, τὸ σα]φές μὲν ἀδύνατον
 εἰπ[εῖν]· προσεκύνου[ν δὲ καὶ] προσεύχοντο πάντες. 60

The spelling of the original has been preserved unaltered, but accents, breathings, and stops have been added. In several cases careful manipulation of the papyrus has revealed letters, or portions of letters, which were previously covered, and the position of one small fragment has been altered. On the left are preserved the terminations of thirty lines of the preceding column, and on the right the initial letters of a third; the remains, however, are so small that I have not been able to extract anything of interest from them beyond a confirmation of Wilcken's reading, Σειληνε, in l. 20.

Above the principal column there is a symbol which I do not understand; it is, almost certainly, X with O in the upper angle. Wilcken reads KΘ, and draws the conclusion that we have the twenty-ninth column of the whole work. But in this place the facsimile is inadequate and misleading, and the original does not confirm the reading. Dr. Mahaffy suggests that it is the abbreviation χ , employed to call attention to the excellence of the column; if so, the ρ has no tail.

2. "The state of the weather being unseasonable." In Pollux, v. 108: δυσώρον (sc. χωρίου) is found in connexion with ζοφῶδες, σκοτῶδες, χειμέριον, δυσχείμερον, etc.; for κατὰστασις in this sense cp. Lucian, *Halcyon* 4, θαυμαστή τις κατὰστασις εὐδίας ἐγένετο: it occurs frequently in Ptol. *Quadripart.* and Lydus *Lib. de Ostent.*

3. ἐπισημασίαι, "signs of the weather," see Plut., *Moral.* 889 E: περὶ ἐπισημασίας ἀστέρων καὶ πῶς γίνεται χειμῶν καὶ θερος. The missing word may, perhaps, be νεφέλη: cp. Theophrastus *de signis Tempest* 3. 8: εἰὰν ἐπὶ κορυφῆς

ἄρους νέφος ὀρθὸν στῆ, χειμῶνα σημαίνει. ὕθεν καὶ Ἀρχιλοχος ἐποίησε :—

Γλαῦκ', ὄρα. βαθὺς γὰρ ἦδη κύμασιν ταρασσεται
πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἴσταται νέφος
σῆμα χειμῶνος· κιχάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπίτης φόβος·

δ' ἐστι σημεῖον χειμῶνος. Dio. Chrysost., Or. vii., p. 222 R. (quoted by Tyrrell and Purser on Cic. ad Att. v. 12): βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ἐγωγε καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας λῆξαι τὸν ἄνεμον· ἀλλὰ οὐ ῥάδιον, εἶπεν, ὅταν οὕτω πεισθῇ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ τῶν νεφῶν ὥς γε νῦν κατειλημμένα ὀρᾷς. The sentence would then mean :—"I advised them to wait till the next day and to give themselves up to enjoyment, because the weather was bad, and they had not noticed a threatening cloud among the signs." I make this suggestion with some hesitation, because ἐπισημασίαι are properly signs of the weather deduced from the rising and setting of the fixed stars (see Diod. I. 49, XII. 36; Polyb. i. 37. 4); the word is often found in the titles of astrological calendars such as that of Ptolemy *φάσεις ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων καὶ συναγωγὴ ἐπισημασιῶν*, that of Aetius Amidenus *περὶ ἐπισημασιῶν ἀστέρων*, or the anonymous calendar attached to the treatise of Geminus, *χρόνοι τῶν ζωδίων, ἐν οἷς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὁ ἥλιος διαπορεύεται καὶ αἱ καθ' ἕκαστον ζώδιον γινόμεναι ἐπισημασίαι αἱ ὑπογεγραμμέναι εἰσίν*. Geminus himself, however, seems to use the word with a more extended signification in *Isag. Astron.*, c. 14 :—ὁ περὶ ἐπισημασιῶν λόγος παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἀλλοίαν ἔχει διάληψιν, ὥς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄστρον ἐπιτολαῖς καὶ δύσεσι τῶν περὶ τὸν αἶρα μεταβολῶν γινομένων· ὁ δὲ μαθηματικὸς καὶ φυσικὸς ἑτέραν ἔχει δόξαν καὶ πρῶτον μὲν διαληπτέον, ὅτι αἱ γινόμεναι ἐπισημασίαι ὁμβρῶν καὶ πνευμάτων, περὶ τὴν γῆν γίνονται, εἰς δὲ πλεῖον ὕψος οὐ διατείνουσιν.

1. 4. The infinitives depend upon *παρεκάλουν*. For the construction of *ἐπιδούναι* as an intransitive verb, cp. Athen. 525 e : *τούτοις πᾶσι χρῆσθαι φησι τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιδύοντας εἰς τρυφήν*. 536 a : *εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν ἐπιδούς*.

1. 5. Prof. Purser suggests [πανύ]στατος.

1. 7. κάγωι Wilcken. τῶν δὲ Wilcken.

1. 8. ὁ ἡμ]τέρος Wilcken.

1. 12. Cp. Hom. *Il.* ix. 563 : ἀλκύνους πολυπενθέος οἴκτον ἔχουσα. Lucian, *Halcyon* 1 : θαλαττία τις ὄρνις ἀλκυνῶν ὀνομαζομένη, πολύθρηνος καὶ πολύδακρυς. See also Eur. *I. T.* 1090.

1. 16. ἐξεπλεύσαμεν Wilcken.

1. 22. The form κατεστου has baffled me; though the last three letters are not clear, we cannot read κατέστη, or κάτεσχευ, as conjectured by Prof. Bury. Mr. Beare suggests that ἀνακαλουμένη may possibly be a derivative of κάλως, meaning "moored to the wharf."

1. 23. ἀνακαλουμένη[η] Bury.

1. 25. The reading ἀπηλιωτικόν is very doubtful; the letters transcribed απηλ might, with equal facility, be read αγριω, and the rest of the word is rendered illegible by a horizontal fracture through the middle of the letters, the papyrus being so much distorted in the tearing, that the remaining traces of ink give but little help. Prof. Bury suggests ἀγρίως πνέον.

1. 27. Perhaps ἐ[γκαρσί]αν may be suggested. ἡ προθμὶς τὴν Wilcken.

1. 29. τεταμένοις. Bury.

1. 30. The usual form of the name of the southern promontory of Cos in Laceter: Strabo, xiv. ii. 19, ἔχει δὲ πρὸς νότον μὲν ἄκραν τὸν Λακητῆρα (the Aldine edition has Λακτῆρα) ἀφ' οὗ ἐξήκοντα εἰς Νίσυρον. Here, according to Plutarch, 304 C (*Actia Gr.* 58), Heracles was wrecked when returning from Troy: Ἡρακλῆς ταῖς ἐξ ναυσὶν ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀναχθεὶς ἐχειμάσθη, καὶ τῶν νεῶν διαφθαρεισῶν μιᾷ μόνῃ πρὸς τὴν Κῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός ἐλαυνόμενος ἐξέπεσε κατὰ τὸν Λακητῆρα καλούμενον, οὐδὲν ἄλλο περισώσας ἢ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. The form Λακτῆρ is found in Agathemerus, 18 : ἐπὶ Λακτῆρα τῆς Κώας στάδια τκ'. "Promontorium (*Cap*

Krokilo) quod in acutam calcem exiens longe procurrit, Λακητῆρ minus recte, opinor, vocatur in codd. Strabonis, p. 658." C. Müller, *Agathemerus*, l. c. (ed. Didot). ΛΑΚΗΤΗΡΑ, however, is found in an inscription, see Greek Inscr. of the British Museum, No. 259.

l. 35. The reading νοσῶδει is almost certain; the first stroke of the ν is torn away, and the third letter must be either ε or σ, which are indistinguishable in this writing. Perhaps it was the combination of despair with the physical effects of the νοσῶδες πέλαγος which produced the πόθος ὀλέθρου mentioned in the next line. Cp. Plat. *Theaet.* 191 A: ἐὰν δὲ πάντῃ ἀπορήσωμεν, ταπεινωθέντες, οἴμαι, τῷ λόγῳ παρέξομεν ὡς ναυτιῶντες πατεῖν τε καὶ χρῆσθαι ὃ τι ἂν βούληται.

l. 37. προσδοκία. Bury.

l. 38. "Being swept together from a great distance all round." διάστημα is the technical word for the distance (of a point on the circumference of a circle) from the centre. Euclid, I. Post. 3: ὑτήσθω παντὶ κέντρῳ καὶ διαστήματι κύκλον γράφεισθαι.

l. 40. Cp. Pollux, I. 108: θάλαττα τραχεῖα, κοίλη θάλαττα καὶ κοιλαινομένη καὶ τραχυνομένη. Verg. *Aen.* I. 105: insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.

l. 42. περιέχοντος. Bury. τὸ πνεῦμα, if the text be right, is an accusative of relation, "as to the wind, etc."; but perhaps we have here a case of haplography, and should read τὸ πνεῦμά τ' ἐς στάσιν; ε in this hand has such a strong resemblance to σ that it is not unlikely that in the combination εσσ one of the three letters should have been omitted by a copyist.

l. 50. A small fragment in the middle of the papyrus has been placed a line lower down than in the original publication; that this transposition is correct can be verified by an examination of the facsimile of the *recto*.

l. 53. πεπνυκασμένη is probably an imitation of Hom. *Il.* xvii. 551: πορφυρέη νεφέλη πυκάσασα ἔ αὐτήν.

1. 54. ἡ μεγ[άλη πνοή] Bury. ἐν[ηρεί]δετο. Bury. The difficulty of perceiving whether it was night or day was due to the alternation of daylight with the darkness caused by the interposition of the wave. Since it was obviously early in the day, we may deduce that the ship was sailing from east to west, between Lacter and the island Nisyros, and not from north to south along the western coast of Cos. Hence the point of departure was some place—Ceramus, perhaps, or Halicarnassus—in the Ceramic gulf. The word ἀπηλιωτικόν, in l. 25, if the reading were certain, would strengthen this supposition.

1. 57. προσωνυμίαν Wilcken. Cp. Lucian, *Dial. D.* 26. 2: προστέτακται αὐτοῖν ὑπηρετεῖν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ καθιππεύειν δεῖ τὸ πέλαγος καὶ ἰάν που ναύτας χειμαζομένους ἰδῶσιν, ἐπικαθίσαντας ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον σώζειν τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας. Pliny H. N. ii. 101: Existunt stellae et in mari terrisque. Vidi nocturnis militum vigiliis inhaerere pilis pro vallo fulgorem effigie ea, et antemnis navigantium aliisque navium partibus ceu vocali quodam sono insistunt ut volucres sedem ex sede mutantes, graves, cum solitariae venere, mergentesque navigia et, si in carinae ima deciderint, exurentes, geminae autem salutare et prosperi cursus praenuntiae, quarum adventu fugari diram illam ac minacem appellatamque Helenam ferunt, et ob id Polluci et Castori id numen adsignant, eosque in mari deos invocant.

Mahaffy, Kenyon, Grenfell, and Wilcken agree in assigning the writing of the *verso* to the second century, A.D.; Wilcken has also remarked that the *recto* contains the words . . . ανου Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Φαμενώθ. This, he continues, can only be Domitian; it may, however, be part of the titles of Trajan before he assumed the appellation Dacicus, Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ (see Ox. Pap. I. XLVI, 28; XLIX, 10.) The first few letters are very doubtful, but seem to me to suit Τραιανου better than Δομιτιανου. When, as in this

case, a literary document is written on the *verso* of a papyrus, the date of the *recto* gives very little information about the date of the author; we can only say that the copy was made after the *recto* was written: the author himself may have lived either at an earlier or at a later period.

The earliest writer of Greek romance known to Photius was Antonius Diogenes, of whose work, entitled τῶν ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἀπίστων λόγοι, he has left us an epitome. This novel, in the opinion of Photius, was the prototype of all the later Greek romances:—ἔστι δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, οὗτος χρόνῳ πρεσβύτερος τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσπουδακόντων διαπλάσαι, οἶον Λουκιανοῦ, Ἰαμβλίχου, Ἀχιλλέως Τατίου, Ἡλιοδώρου τε καὶ Δαμασκίου· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ περὶ ἀληθῶν διηγημάτων Λουκιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ μεταμορφώσεων Λουκίου πηγὴ καὶ ρίζα ἔοικεν εἶναι τοῦτο· οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ Σινωνίδα καὶ Ῥοδάνην (Iambl.), Λευκίππην τε καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα (Ach. Tat.), καὶ Χαρίκλειαν καὶ Θεαγένην (Hel.), τῶν τε περὶ αὐτοὺς πλασμάτων καὶ τῆς πλάνης, ἐρώτων τε καὶ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ κινδύνων ἢ Δερκυλλίς καὶ Κήρυλλος καὶ Θρουσκανὸς καὶ Δεινίας εἰκόσσι παράδειγμα γεγονέναι. But Diogenes himself refers to an earlier writer, Antiphanes:—μνημονεύει δ' οὗτος ἀρχαιότερου τινὸς Ἀντιφάνους, ὃν φησι περὶ τοιαῦτά τινα τερατολογήματα κατεσχολακέναι. Prof. Bury suggests that the papyrus contains a fragment of the romance of Antiphanes, and that Diogenes named his heroine Dercyllis in imitation of the Herpyllis of his predecessor.

J. GILBART SMYLY.

TWO PASSAGES IN SOPHOCLES.

(1) *Antigone*, l. 3.

ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα,
 ἄρ' οἷσθ' ὃ τι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου κακῶν
 ὅποιον οὐχὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶσαιν τελεῖ;
 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐκ ἄτης ἄτερ
 οὔτ' αἰσχρὸν οὔτ' ἀτιμόν ἐσθ' ὅποιον οὐ
 τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν οὐκ ὅπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν.

THE only tolerable explanation of the construction of ll. 2, 3 is that (adopted by Jebb and Bellerman) which understands ἐστί with ὃ τι (the correction of MSS. ὅτι). But it is far from satisfactory. Ζεύς following ὃ τι assures the ear that ὃ τι is object; and it is a shock to discover, on reaching ὅποιον, that it is not object, but subject. Professor Jebb observes: "The soundness of the text is doubtful, but no proposed correction is probable" (note *ad loc.*).

If we assume an error, the presumption is that it lies either in ὃ τι or ὅποιον, for, if either of these words is omitted, the construction of the sentence is unimpeachable. That it is to be sought in ὅποιον, and not in ὃ τι, is suggested (1) by the order of the words; (2) by ὅποιον in l. 5.

In these opening lines the note struck by Antigone is the close intimacy of the ties which bind herself and her sister together. The stress is not so much on the woes which they endure as on the fact that they endure these woes in common. Compare l. 1 (on which Professor Jebb happily remarks: "The pathetic emphasis of this first line gives the keynote of the drama. The origin which connects the sisters also isolates them. If Ismene is not with

her, Antigone stands alone"); 1. 3, νῶν ἔτι ζῶσαιν; 1. 6, τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν. The feeling which dominates the speech of Antigone is that she and Ismene are together and alone against the world, bound not only by their sisterhood, but by their common suffering.

If then we simply substitute *δμοιον* for *ὁποῖον*, we have a reading which is in keeping with the tone of the whole passage, emphasizing what Antigone desired to emphasize as strongly as she could, community of lot and interests. "Knowest thou what, of all the ills that come from Oedipus, Zeus accomplishes not, alike for us twain (falling on us alike), before we die?"

This remedy, which removes the grammatical difficulty and heightens the rhetorical effect of the sentence, involves the change of but a single letter, and is justified by the similarity in the forms of the letters *μ* and *π* in square and sloping uncial writings in Egyptian papyri (both of the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods). So like were they that in many cursive hands they came to be indistinguishable (both looking like an inverted *v*). In this passage the mistake was facilitated by the occurrence of *ὁποῖον* in the context.

(2) *Oedipus Coloneus*, 547.

X. ἔκανες. Οἱ. ἔκανον· ἔχει δέ μοι

X. τί τοῦτο; Οἱ. πρὸς δίκας τι. X. τί γάρ; Οἱ. ἐγὼ φράσω·
καὶ γὰρ †ἄλλους ἐφόνευσα καὶ ἀπώλεσα·†
νόμῳ δὲ καθαρός, αἰδῶρις ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον.

Against the conjecture of Mekler—

καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὖς ἐφόνευσ' ἔμ' ἀπώλεσαν,

it is urged by Professor Tyrrell that an anticlimax is involved in such a weak defence. "The plea which Oedipus brings out at last with a final jet of pent-up feeling should be something more than 'my act was in self-defence.'" There is perhaps a still stronger objection to Mekler's proposal. "They would have slain me, if I had not slain

them," can hardly be defended as a true statement of what befel at the crossing of the roads according to the narration of Oedipus himself in the *Oedipus Rex* (801-13). As the story of the fray is told there, it is hardly disguised that Oedipus was as much to blame as Laius and his party, nor does it appear to the reader's satisfaction that the slaying of Laius was a necessary act of self-defence. He might indeed say, "I retaliated" (παθὼν μὲν ἀντιδρῶν 271); the fact that Laius first struck him might constitute him νόμῳ καθαρός; but it would have been at least an exaggeration to urge as a plea πρὸς δίκας that the death of the old man in the chariot was absolutely necessary in self-defence.

On the other hand, Professor Tyrrell's bold and ingenious conjecture—

καὶ μ' ἐφόνευσ' ἀλαὸς καὶ ἀπώλεσα,

"on myself too I blindly brought death, even destruction," seems to be open to the objection that such an utterance is not a plea πρὸς δίκας. The fact that Oedipus himself suffers from the consequences of his act is no justification of the φόνος. It is a plea πρὸς οἶκτον, but not πρὸς δίκας.

Charged with parricide—and it is parricide (544), not homicide, that is here in question—Oedipus had one true and ultimate plea. He slew his father, *not knowing him* (αἰδρις); and if he knew him not, it was *because his father sought to slay him in his infancy*. Oedipus was simply a victim. And this must surely be the significance of his reply which a corruption has obscured.

In attempting to restore the verse, we should observe that καὶ γάρ is doubtless genuine, for it is perfectly appropriate; and that οὗς ἐφόνευσσα means Laius, and Laius only (the slaughter of the servants being perfectly irrelevant). I suggest—

καὶ γὰρ ἔμ' οὗς ἐφόνευσά μ' ἀπώλεσαν,

"for on me, too,—they whom I slew brought destruction on me"; that is, Laius, by his treatment, ruined my life.

The fatal situation, in which father and son were face to face, the father supposing that his son was dead, the son supposing that another was his father, could never have come to pass but for the original act of Laius in sending the child to perish on the mountain. Oedipus might fitly use either the imperfect or the aorist of ἀπόλλυμι, according as he meant it in a stricter or more general sense; he used the imperfect in a passage which I would cite in support of the view here put forward: l. 274,

ὑφ' ὧν δ' ἔπασχον εἰδόντων ἀπωλλύμην.

The repetition μ' after ἔμ' is illustrated by l. 1278, and other instances quoted in Jebb's note on that line. The original cause of the corruption may have been that ἔμ' οὗς was read as ἐμοῦς. All the rest might be no more than the result of attempts to correct.

J. B. BURY.

THE GREEK MSS. USED BY ST. JEROME.¹

THE great Oxford edition of the Vulgate goes on steadily; and the latest fasciculus, completing the first volume, is of peculiar interest, as it gives us the editors' conclusions on many difficult problems relating to the construction of the text, and enables us to appreciate the methods by which they worked. This Epilogus includes, besides half-a-dozen cancel pages of the text of St. John, chapters on the origin and character of the various families of MSS.; some hitherto unprinted *capitula* for the Gospels; and a long list of *corrigenda*, as well as a full *index verborum*. It is superfluous to praise the fulness of learning and the careful editorial supervision which are conspicuous on every page of this as of the preceding fasciculi.

The most interesting problem discussed by the editors is that of the methods employed by Jerome when reconstructing the New Testament text. He tells us himself that his work was rather a revision of an existing version than an original translation from the Greek, and the Oxford editors hold that among Old Latin texts of the Gospels that which gives us the best idea of the MS. which was the basis of Jerome's *Vulgata* is the sixth-century Codex Brixianus (*f*). Accordingly they have printed it at the foot of their text, for purposes of comparison; and it is at once evident that the agreement between *f* and *vg*

¹ *Nouum Testamentum domini nostri Iesu Christi Latine* ed. Ioh. Wordsworth et H. I. White. Partis prioris fasciculus quintus. Epilogus. (Oxonii MDCCCXCVIII.)

is extremely close. That the Vulgate was a revision of a manuscript like *f* is a plausible theory. But the question presents itself, is not the agreement between *f* and *vg* too close? In other words, have we any solid ground for assuming the priority of *f* to *vg*? May it not be that *f* is a Vulgate manuscript with traces of old readings from other sources? This theory has been put forward by Mr. F. C. Burkitt,¹ who contends that the peculiarity of *f* resides in the presence of a strain of text closely akin to the Gothic version. His arguments appear to me to be convincing as regards the affinities between *f* and the Gothic; and they shake one's confidence in the assumption that *f* should be reckoned as representing a pre-Hieronymian type of text, an assumption which underlies a good many of the arguments of Bishop Wordsworth and Mr. White. It is probable that the last word has not been said on the point, and that the characteristics of *f* should be submitted to a fresh and independent examination before the nature of the Latin version of the Gospels which Jerome took as a basis can be precisely determined.

What materials had Jerome before him to assist him in the work of revision? This is a question, often asked, but hardly yet fully answered, although the Oxford editors have brought out some important points. Jerome states distinctly that the Gospels were emended by him by a comparison of Greek MSS.,² and the Oxford editors maintain that these Greek MSS. were of two classes, (*a*) MSS. akin in text to *MBL*, and (*b*) MSS. of a type of which no specimen now survives. There can be no doubt, from the table that the editors give of Hieronymian renderings which are at variance with the Old Latin versions, and are supported by Greek manuscripts of the school *MBL*, that,

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct., 1899, p. 129 ff.

² "Euangelia . . . codicum graecorum

emendata conlatione sed ueterum" are his words in the Epistle to Damasus.

(as is probable in itself), Jerome had access to, and used, manuscripts of this class. So many instances of Jerome's partiality to manuscripts of this school have been observed that our editors have laid down as a canon: "Codices qui cum graecis NBL concordant plerumque textum Hieronymianum ostendunt." A table more difficult to interpret is that on p. 661, which shows the cases in which he seems to have made corrections in the text before him, supported by no Greek or Old Latin authority now known to us. These instances chiefly occur in the Gospels according to St. Luke and St. John, the last two which he took in hand; and they are more frequent in St. John than in St. Luke. I confess that the suspicion suggests itself at once that a good many of these anomalous renderings may be due to carelessness on Jerome's part. We know that his revision was hastily made, and that he was agitated and perturbed during the latter part of his stay in Rome, on account of the discussions which were going on as to his fitness for the Papacy. If we find in his work a greater number of anomalies and slips as it approaches its conclusion, that is exactly what we should expect under the circumstances.

The judgment of two scholars like Bishop Wordsworth and Mr. White must not, however, be lightly set aside. They have studied the phenomena of the Vulgate text more closely, I suppose, than any other living critics; and they have succeeded in convincing scholars of repute that they are right in their view that Jerome used Greek manuscripts of a family which has vanished out of knowledge. For instance, in the latest article that I have seen on the subject, by Canon E. Manganot,¹ this view is adopted and defended by various lines of argument. And it is an unquestionable fact that, as Dr. Nestle says,

¹ In the *Revue des Sciences Ecclesiastiques* for January, 1900: Les manu-

scrits grecs des évangiles employés par saint Jérôme.

"there are certain readings in Jerome which we have not yet been able to discover in any Greek manuscript that we know."¹ Among the more conspicuous of these are the following:—

(a) Matt. xxvii. 55. Jerome, against the O. L. authority, omits after *mulieres multae a longe* any word corresponding to the Greek *θεωροῦσαι*. There is, here, a various reading *ὀρῶσαι*, and the existence of both *θεωροῦσαι* and *ὀρῶσαι* in the MSS. has been held to suggest that both are additions to a text which originally had no such participle. This original text Jerome is presumed to have followed here. Cf. also Luke xxiv. 38 where Jerome has nothing corresponding to the O. L. *quare*, there being here again a variant *τί* for the better supported Greek *διὰ τί*.

(b) Mark xii. 33. Jerome has *ut diligatur*, but this turn may be simply due to a desire to produce a smooth and elegant rendering.² Cf. also Luke v. 12; John vi. 1; John vii. 39, where a similar explanation of Jerome's Latin suggests itself.

(c) Luke ix. 44. Jerome has *in cordibus uestris* for *in auribus uestris* (*εἰς τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν*). I cannot but think that this translation of his may be due to a confused reminiscence of Luke xxi. 14 (*ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν*) rather than to a now lost Greek reading.

(d) Luke xxii. 55. Jerome has *erat Petrus* for *sedebat* (*ἐκάθητο*) *Petrus*. This is susceptible of an explanation similar to (c); for in the parallel passage Mark xiv. 66 we have simply *ὄντος τοῦ Πέτρου*: we are not told there that Peter was sitting down.

¹ *Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament* (Engl. Tr.), p. 124.

² I note that M. Manganot perceives that this is a possible explanation:

"*ut diligatur* pourrait n'être qu'une correction admise seulement afin de rendre le style plus élégant" (*l. c.*, p. 70).

(e) Luke xxii. 61. Jerome omits to render *αὐτῷ* after *εἶπεν*, although the older Latin has *ei*, following the Greek authorities known to us. Here the omission may have arisen from familiarity with the words of the other Synoptics; for in the parallel Matt. xxvi. 75 we have *Ἰησοῦ εἰρηκότος* without the addition of *αὐτῷ*. May not this have been in the translator's mind?

(f) Luke xxii. 70. Jerome renders *πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη* by *ait* omitting *illis*. Here again, the omission can hardly be pressed, when in the parallel in Mark xiv. 62 we have simply *εἶπεν*.

(g) John vii. 25. Jerome has *ex Hierosolymis*. The source of this seems possible to trace without postulating new entities. The true (and only) Greek is *ἐξ Ἱεροσολυμειτῶν*, for which the Latin (*b, r, δ, &c.*) is *ex Hierosolymitanis*. This is written in *f*, by a scribe's blunder, in the (wrongly) abbreviated form *ex Hierosolymitis*, from which the transition is easy to *ex Hierosolymis*, the actual Vulgate text.

(h) John viii. 37. Jerome has *fili* for *semen* (*σπέρμα*) of his predecessors. But surely this comes in from ver. 39 where *fili* represents the true reading?

(i) John x. 16. In this famous text, which has given rise in its Vulgate form to so much doctrinal misunderstanding, Jerome rendered *αὐλή . . . ποιμνὴ* by *ovile . . . ovile*, instead of following the more accurate Old Latin *ovile . . . grex*. I confess that, unless this may be set down as a slip, I do not know how to explain it, except on the hypothesis of some now unknown Greek authority. For Jerome, in his Commentary on Ezekiel,¹ reproduces the verse thus:—"Et alias oves habeo quae non sunt ex hoc atrio . . . et fiet unum atrium et unus pastor." He says that he is dissatisfied with the old rendering *ovile* for *αὐλή*,

¹ Migne *Patr. Lat.*, xxv. col. 465.

but he seems to assume that the word ἀλλή occurs twice in the verse, however it is to be rendered.

There are several other instances cited to prove their point by the Oxford editors, but these seem the most weighty. And it may be urged that before their view is finally accepted, account should be taken of one noticeable circumstance. Jerome was admittedly a good and capable scholar. He was a fair judge of evidence on matters of textual criticism at any rate. Yet the list of readings in which he is supposed to have followed lost Greek manuscripts does not furnish, so far as I can form an opinion, *one* case where the lost manuscripts can be supposed to have preserved the true text. *All* these corrections of the Old Latin (if they are deliberate corrections) were wrong, if internal evidence is worth anything. It is difficult to believe that in the majority of doubtful cases Jerome went right in good company, and that in a small minority he deliberately disavowed his leading authorities, and followed a single poor MS. or some small group, so insignificant that it and its readings have now utterly disappeared. I know, indeed, of only *one* instance where patristic citations seem to confirm his departure from the known Greek MSS. and in that instance he was following the Old Latin authorities somewhat closely. The passage stands by itself, and may be cited for whatever it is worth.

In John xvi. 13 he has *docebit uos omnem ueritatem*, where Westcott and Hort's text gives ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν πᾶσαν. Now the reading διηγῆσεται ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πᾶσαν occurs in Eusebius and in Cyril of Jerusalem, and it also has the apparent support of the Arabic version of Tatian, though it is not found in any existing manuscript.

It is extremely unlikely that this represents the true Greek, for (not to speak of its slender patristic attestation at this place) διηγέομαι is not a word of St. John's vocabu-

lary. But, apart from that, it is not certain that Jerome's *docebit* was intended by him to represent διηγῆσθαι. He always renders διηγέομαι by *narro* or *enarro*,¹ and it would be strange if he had departed from his usual practice in this one passage. Further, an Old Latin rendering here gives *docebit uos in ueritate*, and we can hardly doubt that this was the immediate source from which Jerome derived his translation, *docebit uos ueritatem*. Now *docebit in* points to the Greek ὁδηγήσει εἰς rather than to διηγῆσθαι without any preposition following it. And that the verb ὁδηγέω might be loosely rendered by such a word as *doceo* is illustrated by Acts viii. 31, where the eunuch's words, ἐὰν μή τις ὁδηγήσῃ με, are represented in the Vulgate by *si non aliquis ostenderit mihi*. On the whole, then, the passage John xvi. 13 cannot be cited to prove Jerome's use of unknown Greek manuscripts; for (a) he was following in the track of Old Latin authorities; (b) *doceo* is not the word by which we should expect him to translate διηγέομαι; (c) there is not evidence to show that διηγῆσθαι, which is in any case an *erroneous* reading, ever existed in a Greek MS. of John xvi. 13, for its appearance in Cyril and Eusebius may well be due to looseness of citation.

As I have said before, I do not venture to allege more than my own failure to be convinced as yet that, to account for the phenomena of the Vulgate text, a case has been made out for postulating unknown entities in the shape of Greek manuscripts of a type without a single representative at the present day.

And, as I am suggesting doubts, I add a word as to the particular group of Vulgate MSS. known as DELQR which belong to an Irish or (at least) Celtic family. I pointed out in HERMATHENA, No. xxi. (1895), the

¹ This was pointed out to me by Dr. Gwynn, to whom I am also indebted for some other observations on this passage.

remarkable similarity between some of the readings of these MSS. and those of the Ferrar group of cursives; but I hazarded the opinion that the Irish group was only indirectly dependent on the Ferrars through the medium of the Old Latin. I see that Bishop Wordsworth and Mr. White think it more likely that the connexion was direct; for they say of the group DELQR (p. 714). “Inter codices Graecos affinitatem notatu digniorem cum minusculis 13, 69, 124, 346, 556, qui ‘the Ferrar group’ nominantur, ostendunt. Sed credimus hanc familiam haud raro ex graeco correctam esse.” Now D is the symbol representing the Book of Armagh, and the Oxford editors offer in support of their thesis some arguments that the scribe of that famous MS. was acquainted with the Greek tongue, I confess that I doubt his ability to correct the Latin text by the aid of a Greek manuscript. Ferdomnach knew the Greek alphabet (with the apparent exception of the letter θ), and was proud of his knowledge. Several times he exhibits his capacity for writing Greek letters. But that he knew enough Greek to use it as an instrument of textual criticism, I am not convinced; nor do the phenomena presented by the Book of Armagh suggest that he had anything more than a superficial acquaintance with the Greek language. That Greek was known to some Irish scholars in the Middle Ages is, no doubt, true; but that the particular scribe who wrote the Book of Armagh was one of these select few remains to be proved.

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HORACE, ODE IV, 4, AND THE SECOND AENEID :
SOME REMARKABLE RESEMBLANCES.

HAVING been struck by some remarkable resemblances in Horace's fine Ode, the fourth of the Fourth Book, to the Second Book of the Aeneid, I determined to look more closely into the matter.

(1) In the first place, no one who has read the passage in the Ode (vv. 53-56)—

“Gens, quae cremato fortis ab Illo
Iactata Tuscis aequoribus, sacra,
Natosque maturosque patres
Pertulit Ausonias ad urbes,”

can have failed to notice the intimate connexion existing between it and the subject which inspires the Second Aeneid. Here once more we have the downfall and destruction of Troy; and here the remnants of the Trojan race, destined to found in a more favoured land a mightier Ilium, make their escape from the burning city.

(2) But there is not only this intimate connexion of subject; there is, moreover, in addition to the further point noted below, a particular resemblance in the mention of the

“Sacra,
Natosque maturosque patres”;

reminding us of Aeneas bringing away (v. 747)

Ascanium Anchisenque patrem, Teucrosque penates,”

the sacred things, the son, and the old father.

(3) But not only do we find striking resemblance; there is also no less striking contrast. In the Aeneid, the downfall of Troy is likened to that of a great tree, falling under the blows of the axe (vv. 626, 627):

“Ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum
Cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant,” &c.

In Horace's Ode (vv. 57-60):—

“Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido
Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro,”

we have the same image of the tree and the axes.

(4) Nor will it be overlooked that here, too, the tree is situated upon a mountain¹; but here the tree *resists* the attack, and, like the Roman State, grows stronger from the struggle. It is as if the poet had the fall of Troy in mind, but in contrast to the tone of defeat and overthrow pervading this book of the Aeneid, was emphasising the rise of the Roman power from the ruins of the Trojan.

(5) Here, too, we may note a remarkable verbal coincidence. It will have been observed that Virgil employs the two words, *ferro* and *bipennibus*, to denote the axes that cut down the tree. And then we find the very same words in the Horatian passage, and in the very same forms! Moreover, this is the only place in his works where Horace uses this word *bipennis*: although the other

¹ It is interesting to note, in comparing the two passages, that, in spite of the close resemblance, there is a characteristic difference in the two poets' method of treatment. In Virgil the position of the tree is not specifically indicated: indeed, the very absence of specification, the indulgence to the large roaming of the imagination, is empha-

sised and encouraged by the use of the plural number in *summīs in montibus*; while Horace, with his habitual preference of the particular to the general, of the definite and concrete to the vague and abstract, not only names the mountain, Algidus, but describes it as he has it in his eye, clothed in its mantle of dark green foliage.

word, *securis*, occurs several times. Indeed, it is found in v. 20 of this Ode—if that verse is in truth Horace's.

(6) There is, further, this little point (if it is of any weight), that at another place (v. 479) in this book of the Aeneid, the word *bipenni* is found in close connexion with the adjective *durus*.

(7) Then, too, the *per damna, per caedes*, suggests at least a hint of the *per tela, per ignes* (v. 664), or the *per tela, per hostes* (vv. 358, 527) of the other poet.

(8) Again, as the simile of the tree is preceded in the Aeneid by the words *considerare in ignes Ilium*, so here we find a few verses earlier the similar *cremato . . . ab Ilio*.

(9) I may point out another instance of this contrast of the tone of despair with that of hopefulness. In the Aeneid, the temples are sacked and burned, and (v. 351)

“Excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis,
Di.”

In the Ode, on the contrary, we find the temples restored from the consequences of the impious injuries they had sustained (vv. 46-48) :—

“Impio
Vastata Poenorum tumultu
Fana deos habuere rectos.”

(10) In another place, too, we find a curious effect of what we may term emphatic double contrast. For in the Aeneid (v. 248) we have the ominous ending of the verse :—

“Nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset,”

leading to the solemn beginning of the next :—

“Ille dies,”

only to be followed by the strongly contrasted :—

“festa velamus fronde per urbem ”

346 *HORACE AND THE SECOND AENEID:*

But in Horace (v. 40) the *ille dies* is accompanied, not by the doleful *ultimus*, but, in cheerful strain, by

“Qui primus alma risit adorea”;

while this is immediately succeeded by the mention of the

“dirus per urbes Afer.”

As to the connexion, such as might be suggested by the words *delubra deum* and Horace's *Fana deos*, &c. (v. 48), see my further remarks below.

(11) A minor coincidence may perhaps be perceived in the *per urbem, per urbes*. The simile of the fire, which now follows in Horace, does not come in the other poem till fifty verses further on.

Then there are a number of miscellaneous resemblances, which I shall mention without any special arrangement.

(12) The tone of the vv. 70-72

“Occidit, occidit
Spes omnis et fortuna nostri
Nominis, Hasdrubale interempto”

reminds one of the

“Spes o fidissima Teucrum” (v. 281),
and the

“Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent (vv. 291-2).

(In the Ode the words *manus* and *defendit* occur within the next two or three verses.)

(13) But I think the passage quoted (“Occidit, &c.”) recalls yet more strongly the famous, the splendid, the pathetic words (vv. 324-6):—

“Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniae. Fuimus Troes: fuit Ilium, et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum”:

while the continuation—

“ferus omnia Iupiter Argos
Transtulit: incensa Danaï dominantur in urbe”;

and the *victorque Sinon*, are not without suggestion of the

“Proruet integrum
Cum laude victorem,”

and the

“Carthagini iam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos,”

and the reference that follows to the hostile influence of Jupiter (cf. *Aen.* vv. 602, 617–8, &c.).

(14) Moreover, the passage quoted, *Carthagini*, &c., seems to me (I know not whether it would to others) to bear a resemblance to vv. 577–8 of the *Aeneid* :—

“Scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenae
Aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho,” &c.

In both passages we have the reference to the haughty victor, to the crossing over to that victor's city, which in both is situate beyond the sea: in both we have the reference also to the proud proclamation in that city of the victor's triumph: and yet both contain the suggestion that never, after all, is that proclamation to take place.

A curious point that struck me was this. The serpent plays a very prominent part in the Second *Aeneid*. Not only have we the similes—that at vv. 379 sqq.:

“Improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus unguem,” &c.—

of the man who treads unawares upon a snake; and that at vv. 471 sqq.:

“Qualis ubi in lucem coluber,” &c.,

where the snake in its brilliant scales is compared to Pyrrhus in his flashing armour; but we have the famous pair in the early part of the book, called *gemini dracones* (v. 225).

(15) Now here we meet with another curious coincidence both of words and imagery. For the word *draco* occurs nowhere else in Horace: but in this Ode (v. 11), we come upon the word, and, as in our former instance, with the same inflexion—*dracones*.

(16) Then further, we have the reference to the Hydra (v. 61): and immediately afterwards to the “dragon” that guarded the Golden Fleece, succeeded by an allusion to the sowing of the teeth. So that we seem to find the *draco* nearly as prominent in the Ode as in the Epic.

(17) In both poems, too, we find the dove used as an illustration of feebleness and timidity: Ode, vv. 31–2—

“Neque imbellem feroces,
Progenerant aquilae columbam.”

Aen. v. 516—

“Praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae,” &c.

(18) In the Aen. again we have the simile of the wolves (v. 355), *lupi raptores*, reminding us of the wolves in the Ode (v. 50), *luporum rapacium*.

(19) And further, as it is said of the former wolves—

“Quos improba ventris
Exegit caecos rabies,”

so in the Ode it is said of the eagle which attacks the *dracones* (v. 12)—

“Egit amor dapis.”

(20) A little earlier another force is mentioned as inciting the eagle, *patrius vigor*; reminding us of *Instat vi patria Pyrrhus* (v. 491).

(21) But there is a connexion between another passage in the Ode and the description of the character of Pyrrhus in the Aeneid. For first in the words just quoted Virgil has spoken of the transmission from the father Achilles of

his martial ardour to his son Pyrrhus: and the Ode recurs to such transmissions in the well-known verses (29 sqq.):—

“Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis ;
Est in iuencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus,” &c.

But further on in the Aeneid we find the poet forcibly insisting on the son's degeneracy in the matter of courtesy and generosity to a vanquished foe from the standard set by his illustrious sire (v. 549):—

“Degeneremque Neoptolemum”;

and into old Priam's mouth he puts the words (v. 540):—

“At non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles
Talis in hoste fuit Priamo,” &c.

Then, corresponding to this, we find it laid down in the Ode that the brightness of a splendid lineage may be smirched by the vices of its representative (v. 36):—

“Indecorant bene nata culpae.”

(22) Another simile that occurs in both poems is that of the fire: Aen. v. 304—

“In segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris
Incidit,”

Hor. v. 43—

“Ceus flamma per taedas vel Euris,”

where we find the flames and the winds mentioned in both in close connexion; although, indeed, in Horace, Euris is really introduced as a separate illustration, coursing over the waves:—

“Vel Euris
Per Siculas equitavit undas.”

(23) And we read of him as similarly engaged in the other poem (v. 417-8).

350 *HORACE AND THE SECOND AENEID:*

(24) And further, it is worth notice that, as in its imagery, he is accompanied by the horse—

“Laetus Eois
Eurus equis,”

so he is pictured by Horace also (*equitavit*).

(25) In the same passage of the Aeneid where the fire simile occurs, I notice the expression (v. 306) *sata laeta*, resembling the *laetis pascuis* of the Ode (v. 13).

(26) And there is a distinct resemblance between vv. 74-76 of the Odes—

“Benigno numine Iupiter
Defendit et curae sagaces
Expediunt per acuta belli,”

and vv. 632-3 of the Aeneid—

“Ducente deo flammam inter et hostes
Expedior,”

with their similar employment of the verb *expedio*, as well as the other obvious points.

There are, in addition, some other verbal resemblances, which, had they stood alone, would scarcely, perhaps, have attracted or deserved attention, but which may add some weight to the total mass of coincidence.

(27, 28) Such, for example, is the *per acuta belli* at the end of the Ode, reminding us of the *per opaca locorum* (v. 725); and the *fulvae matris . . . leonem* (v. 14), like the *fulvi leonis* (v. 722); and the following more extended example.

(29) Near the same passage in the Aeneid where the *vi patria* of Pyrrhus occurs (v. 491) we find the expression *late loca milite complent* (v. 495), and the words *penetralibus* (v. 508—it appears also in 297 and 665) and *penetralia* (v. 484), and a few verses further back (v. 473) the snake to

which Pyrrhus is compared is spoken of as *nitidusque iuventa*.

Turning now to the eagle and his *patrius vigor* in the Ode, we find that the full expression is

“*Iuventas et patrius vigor*” (v. 5);

and then, a little lower down (v. 23), we meet the expression *lateque victrices catervae*, and the word *penetralibus* (v. 26). (The word *caterva* does occur in the Aeneid also, but much earlier—vv. 40, 370.)

And there are several other small points, chiefly verbal resemblances, which I have noticed, but they are, perhaps, hardly worth setting down; for if what has already been given should fail to produce upon the reader's mind the effect which it has produced upon the writer's, I scarcely suppose that my reserves could succeed in overcoming his resistance.

Considering, then, all the cases of similarity that have been adduced, and bearing in mind that they all occur in a short poem of less than twenty small four-line stanzas, what conclusion are we to draw? Are they merely fortuitous coincidences? Was it simply some wanton decree of chance that Horace should, without any special influence inciting him, scatter over his Ode, in such abundance, resemblance after resemblance, in words, in phrases, in imagery, to the second book of the Aeneid; that he should use in this Ode words found in that book, use them with identical inflexions, though he had never before employed them, and though, after this single admission, he had promptly discarded them again from his vocabulary? One of our cases of resemblance we might allow to be due to fortuitous coincidence, or two, or a moderate number, according to the elasticity of our standard of probability; but *all* of them?

Does it not rather seem probable that Horace had,

shortly before composing this Ode, read that book of the Aeneid ; that he had naturally been duly impressed by it ; that portions of its substance, its imagery, and even its phraseology had sunk into his mind ; that he had then, more or less unconsciously, reproduced them in his own poem : and that this is the true explanation of the striking resemblances, which I have indicated ?

If we draw this conclusion, and I scarcely see how it can be resisted, it will not only be of great interest in itself, as offering a striking instance of the influence of the one great poet upon the other, and a pleasing association in the immortal productions of their genius between those who were so closely united by friendship in their lives ; but it will also afford us assistance in deciding the question whether this Ode and No. 14 of the same book were composed about the same time. For in that Ode I cannot at all detect any such striking signs of the influence of the second Aeneid as I have shown in the companion Ode, which constitutes a very powerful argument, in addition to the others which have been urged against the theory of their practically contemporaneous composition.

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NOTES AND EMENDATIONS ON VARRO
DE LINGUA LATINA.

THE editions of the *de Lingua Latina* which I have used are those of Ottfried Müller (1833) and Andreas Spengel (1885); the latter is an improved revision of the text as constituted by the editor's father, Leonard Spengel (1826). The extensive and important edition of Pietro Canal I have not had by me; but some of his views are embodied in Antonibon's *Supplemento di Lezioni Varianti ai libri de Lingua Latina*, Bassano, 1899, from which it is clear that he has made many valuable suggestions, though strangely ignored by Spengel. I have already called attention to Canal's edition of the *Dirae* in the *American Journal of Philology*, xx., p. 139. It is time that justice should be done to a scholar whose name is, I believe, little, if at all, known in England, and whose edition of the *de Lingua Latina* began to be printed at Venice as far back as 1846. A second edition is dated 1874 (Antonibon).

v. 24 (where Varro gives the etymology of *puteus*):

nisi potius quod eolis dicebant ut potamon sic potura potu
non ut nunc ΦPC.

This is the way the passage is written in the best MS., F (51. 10 of the Laurentian Library at Florence). A. Spengel prints πύταμον for *potamon*, πύτειον a *potu* (both from Buttmann), and of course φρέαρ.

The form of the MS. tradition can hardly be said to support πύτειον. MSS. steadily retain ρ (*potuRa*). I believe this to represent an Aeolic πότρορ = φρέαρ.

The word is discussed again, vi. 84 :

Ab eadem lingua quod poton potio unde poculum potatio repotatio indidem puteus quod sic graecum antiquum non ut nunc phrear dictum (so F).

Here also, I think, we should suppose *sic* to refer to a word *πόρος*, showing its affinity by the *ō* of the stem to Greek *πόρον*, by its final *ρ* to *φρέαρ*.

v. 25. Speaking of a "*locus publicus ultra Esquilias*," where bodies were thrown, Varro writes :

itaque eum afranius †cuticulos in togata appellat quod inde suspiciunt per puteos lumen.

The etymology given suggests that we should write either *putilucos* as Scaliger conjectured, or, as seems equally possible, *luciputos*. This latter word would easily explain itself to the ordinary Roman as *luci putrescentes* : rotting in open daylight.

v. 28. item antemnae quod ante amnis †quanto influit in tiberim.

qui anio the elder Spengel : rather *quia anio*.

v. 34. eius finis minimus constitutus in latitudinem pedes quattuor in longitudinem pedes centum uiginti in quadratum actum et latum et longum esset centum uiginti.

An *ut* seems to have fallen out in the last clause, probably before *esset*.

v. 36. ager cultus ab eo quod ibi cum terra semina coalescebant et ab inconsitus incultus.

L. Spengel would remove *ab* before *inconsitus*. It may, however, have been *ab inconsito*.

v. 43. itaque eo ex urbe aduehebantur ratibus cuius uestigia quod ea quatum dicitur uelabrum.

Either *quod ea qua tum (i) tum* or *quod ea (a) qua [qua] tum (i) tum*. The former is the simpler and more probable.

v. 49. Speaking of the etymology of Esquiliae Varro says:

alii has scripserunt ab excubiis regis dictas alii ab eo quod excultae a rege Tullio essent: huic origini magis concinunt loca uicini quod ibi lucus dicitur facutalis et larum querquetulanum sacellum.

From the illustration of Esquiliae which Varro draws from other tree sites (*fagus*, *querquetum*), it certainly seems likely that he mentioned the *aesculus* here. Hence Brinck conjectured *aesculetis excultae*, A. Spengel *aesculis consitae*. Why not *aesculis cultae*? And may not *locu uicini* be possible, *uicini* a locative like *uesperi*, *temperi*, *pereгри*? See Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 396.

v. 57. etsi arprocrates digito significat ut† tatas eam.

This must surely be *ut tacescam* or possibly *ut attacescam*.

v. 65. quae (Ops identified with *Terra Mater*) quod gerit fruges Ceres, antiquis enim quod nunc &.

So F. O. Müller conj. *antiquis enim C quod nunc G.*, i.e. the letter which we now express by *G* was in old times *C*, and therefore *Geres* was written *Ceres*.

This is not the only possible suggestion. Varro may mean that formerly they called *Geres* what the Romans of his day called *Ceres*. On this view I conjecture *antiquis enim GER quod nunc CER*. At some stage of the transmission I suppose *cer* to have become *cet*, of which the *c* fell out after *nunc*.

Id. pater quod patefacit semen nam tum est conceptum et inde cum exit quod oritur.

Rather *tum exit*: "for at that time was conceived and from that seed then issues what rises into birth."

v. 68. hinc epicharmus enni proserpinam quoque appellat quod solet esse sub terris dicta proserpina.

The last seven words have, to my mind, the look of a verse, possibly a cretic,

Sub terris quod solet dicta Proserpina,

for Ennius seems to have lengthened the *o* of *Proserpina*, perhaps from its resemblance to *proserpere*, which Varro mentions immediately afterwards.

v. 72. neptunus quod mare terras obnubit ut nubes caelum.

For *mare* I conjecture *marei*, unless *mare* is ablative.

v. 101. cerui quod magna cornua gerunt †corui G in C mutauit ut in multis.

Corui cannot be right: A. Spengel edits *gerui*, which is wide of the transmitted letters. Perhaps *ceroui* from an original *geroui*. Varro would be helped to this thoroughly Varronian hypothesis by κέραι.

v. 104. brassica ut †passica quod ex eius scapo minutatim praesicatur.

It may be doubted whether Turnebus was right in his emendation *praesica*, which would hardly have assumed the form *passica* in all MSS. It would be quite in accordance with Varro's etymologies to write *prassica*, or perhaps *prasica*. The essential letters are the two first (*p*, *r*), the fact of *ae* following in *praesecare* would not determine the supposed word as *praesica*, rather than what is closer to the sound of *brassica*, namely *prasica*.

v. 110. murtatum a murta quod eo ad large fartis.

So F.

ad large fartis is, perhaps, an instance of a preposition separated from its compound, then read *eo ad large fartae*, "myrtle berries are stuffed into it (*eo* adverb, sc. *in murtatum*) in quantities." So *ad nos uersum*, VI. 8.

v. 111. ab eadem fartura farcimina extis appellata a quo †in eo quod testinuissimum intestinum fartum hila dicta ab hilo.

I think *in eo* is a mistake for *ideo*, "from the fact that it is the smallest intestine used for stuffing."

testinuissimum (F) from an original *testinumissimum*

(A. Spengel). This seems to be a corruption of *est tenuissimum*.

v. 112. item graecis singillatim heq ouum bulbum.

So F, but the first hand corrected *heq* to *eq*. Most MSS. give *haec ouum*. Accepting *haec*, which would be a recurring mode of Varro's, I suggest *ocimum*, or *ocinum*, for *ouum*. In v. 128 *souum* in F is a mistake for *solium*. Both *ocimum* and *ocinum* are Greek in origin, and both mentioned in Varro, R. R. I. 31.

v. 113. stamen a stando quod eo stat omne in tela uelamentum.

I suspect this should be *uelumentum*. See my note on this word in my article on Varr. de R. R. (HERMATHENA for 1899, p. 290).

v. 114. Tunica ab tuendo corpore tunica ut findica.

The word disguised as *indica* may have begun with *in*. But it can scarcely be *induca*, which does not suggest *tuor*. Was it *intuica*? or as Canal conjectures *tuinica*? This last seems most probable.

v. 119. uas aquarium uocant futim quod in triclinio allatam aquam infundebant. quo postea accessit magnus cum graeco nomine et cum latino nomine graeca figura barbatus.

Magnus is not Greek, and Turnebus altered it to *nanus*, citing Paulus, *Nanum Graeci uas aquarium dicunt humile et concauum, quod uulgo uocant situlum barbatum*. The same corruption occurs Prop. iv. 8. 41, *Nanus et ipse suos breuiter concretus in artus*, where MSS. give *Magnus*. It seems from this that what Juvenal says viii. 32, *nanum cuiusdam Atlanta uocamus*, may have been true even to the extent of sometimes substituting *magnus* for *nanus*: cf. the scholiast there, *ut si nanum gigantem uocemus* κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν. The word, however, is not so given in the locus classicus concerning it, Gell. xix. 13, where it occurs several times, once in a verse of Helvius Cinna, *Bigis raeda rapit citata*

nani's, which ill accords with Gellius' inclusion of *nani's* among "maculantia ex sordidiore uulgi usu," xvi. 7. 4.

It is, perhaps, more likely that we may find in the form which the word assumes in two early codices of Gell. xvi. 7, collated by Hertz, *manum ma||um*, the original cause of the corruption. *nanus* was mistaken for *manus*: this altered to *magnus*.

v. 129. ornatus quasi ab ore natus hinc enim maxime sumitur quod eam deceat. itaque id paratur speculum.

Perhaps [*in*] *id*. *Eam*, loose writing for *mulierem*. It is wonderful that a work inscribed to Cicero should have been written so inartistically.

v. 130. lana ex lana facta.

Laena is an obvious correction, anticipating Varro's fuller etymology, 133 *Laena quod de lana multa*.

v. 134. pala a pangendo GL quod fuit.

Rather [*L*] *GL quod fuit*: i.e. *pala* is from an original *pagla*.

v. 136. rastri quibus dentalis (dentatis, *Turnebus*) penitus eradunt terram atque eruunt a quo †ruturbati dicti

Scaliger and Turnebus emended a *quorutu* (*erutu* Turn.) *rastri*. Canal a *quo rutu ruatri*. I am not convinced that such a word as *rutu* existed, or even was called into existence by Varro, and offer *rutubastri*, 'routers,' a word which might naturally be formed from *rutuba*, 'a rout, disturbance,' and which Varro seems here to connect (as a side remark) with *ruere*.

v. 138. pilum quod eo far pisunt a quo ubi id fit dictum pistrinum. R et S inter se saepe locum commutant.

This (if F and the other MSS. are right in giving *R et S*) would seem to mean that *pilum* was formed from *pisere*, and from *pisere* was formed *pistrinum*, which word was

more generally pronounced *p(r)istinum* or *pristrinum*, the *R* having assumed a position in front of *S* instead of coming after it.

Ritschl has called attention to this fact about the spelling of *pistrinum*, which occurs sufficiently often in MSS. to justify the belief that it was a recognised spelling and pronunciation.

v. 141. quod muniendi causa portabatur †manus quod sepiebant oppidum eę omoenere murus.

Here Canal seems to me right in the main. He conjectured *quod moeniendi causa portabatur manu quo sepiebant oppidum, ex eo moenere moerus*.

Ex eo moenere is strongly pointed to by *esse omenere* of Spengel's MS. H (Copenhagen), *et emoenere* of his G (Gotha). But I am not sure that *muniendi* and *murus* of MSS. should be changed (the latter after Scioppius) to *moeniendi, moerus*.

v. 168. duplicata scansio gradus dicitur quod gerit in inferiora superiorem.

More probably *gerit inferior superiorem*, sc. gradus. The lower step *supports* the upper.

v. 175. The mysterious Greek word *issedonion*, which with δόμα and δόσις is used to illustrate *dos, donum*, is probably some compound of δάνειον, which we may suppose in a dialectal form to have been spelt δύνειον. I suggest εισδάνειον, cf. εισδανέλζειν in the Republic of Plato, 355 C, 'to gain by lending on interest,' hence a gift in the form of a loan: or possibly from ἐν ἰσῆς (ἰσῆ) δανέλζειν may have been formed ἰσηδάνειον.

vi. 8. solstitium quod eo die sol sistere uidebatur aut quod ad nos uersum proximum est solstitium.

Rather *proximum est solstitio*, 'or because as seen by us (literally, where it faces towards us) there is something very like a sun stay.'

vi. 10. luna quod graece olim dicta mene unde illorum menes ab eo nostri.

The reasoning of Varro becomes rather clearer if for *unde* we write *inde*. He is explaining the etymology of *mensis*. The Greeks called the moon *μήνη*, and thence comes the word *μῆν μῆνες* (month): our countrymen named the Roman month from this.

vi. 16. flamen dialis auspicatur uindemiam et ut iussit uinum legere, agna ioui facit, inter quouis exta caesa et proiecta †porus uinum legit.

porus is, I think, a mere error of writing for *prius*. The meaning seems to be that the flamen occupies the time between the cutting of the sacrificial flesh of the lamb and formally offering it (*proiecta* = *porrecta*, see Spengel's note) in the symbolic act of picking the grapes. This act is therefore *prior* to the latter of the two sacrificial acts.

vi. 25. de statutis diebus dixi de annalibus† nec de statutis dicam.

L. Spengel wished to alter this to *de annalibus nec statutis nunc dicam*. I should prefer *de annalibus nunc nec statutis dicam*. This special use of *nec* has, if I mistake not, occasioned a similar obscurity in vi. 62, *si dico quid scienti quod det quod ignorauit trado hinc doceo declinatum*, for which I conjecture, *si dico quid [nec] scienti quom ei quod ignorauit trado, hinc doceo declinatum*, in which *ei* for *det* is Scioppius' conjecture, and is accepted both by O. Müller and A. Spengel. vii. 34 similarly, *plerique extrinsecus nec sciunt for nectunt*.

vi. 52. fatur is qui primum homo significabilem ore mittit uocem. ab eo ante quam ita faciant, pueri dicuntur infantes quom id faciunt, iam fari. †cum hoc uocabulorum a similitudine uocis pueri ac fatuus fari id dictum.

Possibly *cum hoc* uocabulum tum a *similitudine uocis pueri* fari[olus] ac *fatuus* id[eo] dicti. "Not only this word

(*infans*), but from the resemblance to a child's voice, *fariolus* and *fatuus* are called accordingly." *fariolus* was Old Latin for *hariolus* (Nettleship, Contrib. s. v.).

VI. 95. hoc ipsum inlicium scriptum inueni in M. Iunii commentariis, quod tamen ibidem est quod illicite illexit quae cum E et C cum G magnam habet communitatem.

Possibly *inlicium* [cum e] *scriptum*, and quia *cum E* [I] et C cum G magnam habet communitatem.

Varro seems to mean that he had found *inlicium* written with *leg* for *lic*, but that the word was notwithstanding of the same stock as the imperative *illicite* and the perf. *illexit*, because I and E, C and G had a natural affinity. *ibidem* was very early emended by Vertranius into *ibi idem*. On referring to Antonibon I see that *cum E I* is also in his Barberini codex (Br.).

VI. 96. Praeterea ades ΨEC ab eo quod est MAAACEN nos malaxare ut gargarissare ab ANAPΓAPHCTE potare a ΠΟΙΘECTae.

This is, I think, *Praeterea* [*depsere*] a ΔΕΨΗCAI, *ab eo quod est* μαλάσσειν *nos malaxare, ut gargarissare ab* ἀναγαργαρίσασθαι, *potare a* ποτίσασθαι.

This is very close to L. Spengel's correction *Praeterea depserē* δεψείν and *gargarissare ab* ΓΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΕCΘΑΙ. But Varro seems here to have preferred the aorist form to the present, though he has not done so in the case of *malaxare*.

VII. 3. quod interuallum multo tanto propius nos quam hinc ad initium saliorum quo romanorum prima uerba poetica dicunt †latina.

I think it nearly certain that *latina* arose from ⁱⁿ*lata*, the suprascribed *in* having been taken in at the wrong place in the word. *inlata* = introduced.

VII. 4. praesertim quom dicat etymologice non omnium uerborum posse dici causam ut qui a quare res u . . . ad medendum medicina.

Perhaps *ut qui ac quare res utilis ad medendum, medicina,*

‘in the same way as the art of the physician states how and why a thing (or perhaps food) is serviceable for cures.’

VII. 8. In the old formula *Templa tescaque †me ita sunt*, &c. Antonibon mentions *meta* as found in a cod. Vaticanus. I believe this is right.

Ullaber, *ollaner* are possibly OBLATER(A). Antonibon mentions *Oblater* as the reading of his MS. P.

VII. 12. Alterum a curando ac tutela ut cum dicimus †bell et tueri uillam.

Bellum, *uellus*, *pupillum* have been suggested. Is it not a mere separation of the two syllables of *uellet*? Probably the words are a commonplace such as might occur in conversation. Such or such ‘would have gladly looked after a villa.’

VII. 16. *deliados* [—]*geminos* id est *apollinem* et *dianam* †*dii* quod *titanis deliadē eadem*.

This seems to be an error caused by the repetition of *ade*, either *Dii, quod Titanis Delia eadem, Deliadae*, or *Dii, quod Titanis eadem Delia, Deliadae*. The two gods Apollo and Diana were called *Deliadae* because their Titaness mother (*Latona*) was also known as the *Delian*.

VII. 19. *Areopagitae* quid *dedere* quam *pudam*.

pilam for *pudam* seems to me exceptionable, though with *aequam* it makes excellent sense, particularly if the stop is placed before *dedere*.

Areopagitae quid? *dedere* *aequam pilam*?

May not *fugam* be concealed in *pudam*? For instance

Areopagitae quid *dedere*? *ecquam fugam*?

VII. 29. Item significant in Atellanis aliquot Pappum senem quod ostii casnar appellant.

So F. Except *idem* for *item* the sentence seems unexceptionable: the nominative to *significant* is *Osci* (F's *ostii*):

The Oscans point to the same thing in a number of Atellan farces in calling the "Old Pappus" (Daddy, a character in Atellanae) *casnar*.

VII. 44. *matres familias crines conuolutos ad uerticem capitis quos habent t̄uti uelatos, dicebantur tituli.*

He is speaking of the *tutulus*, in F spelled with an *i* (*tituli*). For *uti* Cuper suggested *reti*: possibly *rite*.

VII. 69. *uinceretis circum curso uel gralatorem gradum. F.*

gradu, Aldus from Plautus Poen. iii. 1. 27 (530), where the line occurs. *ceruum* for *circum* seems improbable; Varro may have read *circum κίρκον* (hawk) in his copy of the Poenulus.

VII. 99. *Itaque qui adest assiduus ferret quom oportet. F.*

A. Spengel edits *fere quom*. Possibly *fere et quom* generally, and at the right time.

VIII. 7. *uoluisse enim putant singularis res notare.*

putantur would be far clearer.

ib. *ut illinc essent futurae quo declinarentur.*

Obviously [*e*] *quo declinarentur*. It was intended that the names of free women should be understood to follow the nominative masculine from which they were inflected, as Terentia from Terentius.

VIII. 10. *Quare duce natura, t̄si quae imposita essent uocabula rebus ne ab omnibus his declinatus putarent.*

Can *si* be the remains of *significatum (est)*? and so, nature prompting, intimation was given that they were not to suppose that when a name had been given to anything, each one of these words admitted of inflexion.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

NOTE ON AN ARABIC MS. OF THE *DURR AL-MAṢŪN* OF IBRAHIM B. 'ABD-AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ḲAYSARĀNĪ.

THIS MS., which is in the possession of Mr. W. Harding Smith, is apparently unique. No such work is found in the bibliographical lexicon of Ḥājjī Khalifa, nor is it mentioned in the notice of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd-aḷ-Raḥmān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Ḳaysarānī in Ibn-Ḥajar al-'Asḳalānī's biographical dictionary of the eighth century of the Hijra (*al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. I., MS., B.M., Or. 3043, f. 7a, kindly consulted by Mr. A. G. Ellis). The author, according to Ibn-Ḥajar, held the post of secretary (موقع الدست) to the Mamlūk Sulṭān aḷ-Nāṣir Moḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn in Damascus and in Cairo, and died in Rabī'-al-awwal, A.H. 753 (April—May, 1352), leaving some poetry and epistles. The present work, however, is historical. The title is الدرّ المصون في اصطفاء المقرّ قوصون, 'Pearls preserved for the choice of his excellency Ḳūṣūn,' and the author describes himself as Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd-aḷ-Raḥmān al-Ḳaysarānī Kātib-al-inshā'. There appears to have been no essential distinction between the titles Kātib-al-inshā',

here adopted, and Muwaḳḳi'-al-dast, given by Ibn-Hajar. According to the *Dirwān al-Inshā'* (Paris MS. 1573, f. 134, apud Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, II., ii. 240), the Kātib-al-dast was the same as the Kātib-al-inshā', and both meant secretary of the royal chancery. Al-Maḳrīzī uses the terms Kātib-al-dast and Muwaḳḳi'-al-dast as synonymous. The author's grandfather, 'Abd-Allāh b. Moḥammad Faṭḥ-al-dīn al-Ḥalabī b. al-Ḳaysarānī, who is mentioned in the MS. as holding the office of wezīr at Damascus in the reign (A.H. 676-8) of al-Sa'īd Baraka Khān (so Ibn-Ḥajar, f. 155 *a*, who says that 'the Ḳāḍīs used to ride in his train,' and that he held the same post under Ketbughā), was also a writer and a traditionist, and died in A.H. 703, at the age of 80 (Hājji Khal., 1244: *Orientalia*, ed. Juynboll et alii, ii. 305; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, 377). The present MS., which consists of twenty-one leaves, written in a good Naskhī hand (probably autograph), is not a biography of the amīr Ḳūṣūn, as its title might suggest, but a sketch of the origin of the dynasty of the Baḥrī Mamlūks of Egypt. Beginning with the causes that led Nūr-al-dīn to send his army into Egypt to drive out the Crusaders, the author very briefly relates the succession of the Ayyūbid dynasty and of the Baḥrīs down to al-Manṣūr Abū-Bekr the son al-Nāṣir Moḥammad, who occupied the throne of Egypt and Syria from 21, xii, 741 to 19, ii, 742 (7 June to 4 August, 1341). Under most of the reigns little is

recorded beyond the date of accession, and even when, as in the cases of Ṣalāḥ-aḏ-dīn and Beybars, some account is given of their conquests, the narrative is too brief and jejune to form any serious contribution to the records of other historians. The object of the composition was evidently to attract the notice of the great amīr Ḳūṣūn by praise of the dynasty which he had served, and to display the secretary's skill in florid rimed prose whenever the subject invited rhetorical treatment. The MS. is dated at the end سنة ٧٤١, and in 741 Sayf-aḏ-dīn Ḳūṣūn was at the height of his power, having seated his master aḏ-Nāṣir's son, al-Manṣūr, on the throne in the last month of the year, but retaining the real power in his own hands. The elaborate titles and epithets given to him in the MS. are fuller than any recorded in the inscriptions on his mosque of 730 A.H., at Cairo, or on his lamp in the Gérôme collection (cf. van Berchem, *Corp. Inscr. Arab.*, ii., nos. 119-123), and are as follows: المقرّ الاشرف العالی المولوی الامیری المعظمی المدبّر العالمی العادلّی السّیدی المالکی المأخدومی الکافلی السیفی معزّ الاسلام والمسلمین سید الامرا العالمین ناصر الغزاة والمجاهدین زعیم جیوش الموحّدین . . . قوصون الناصری المنصوری

With كز الغزاة والمجاهدین may be compared in an inscription of the sultān al-Ashraf Sha'bān, dated 770 (van Berchem, no. 178). The epithet aḏ-Nāṣirī records Ḳūṣūn's position as mamlūk of aḏ-Nāṣir

Mohammad, to whose service he came at the age of 18 in Rabi' II, 720, in the suite of his Mongol bride, the daughter of Uzbek, Khān of the Golden Horde. From a page (اوشاقى) Kūṣūn rose successively to the ranks of amir of 10, amir of 100 and of the Ṭablkhānāh, and mukāddam of 1000. He married one of the sultān's daughters, and al-Nāṣir married Kūṣūn's sister. After his patron's death, the amir set up al-Nāṣir's son, al-Manṣūr, and after two months caused him to be killed in prison at Kūṣ; but five months later was himself overcome by a combination of the amirs and executed at Alexandria in Rajab or Shawwāl, 742 (December 1341, Maḡrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, ii, ۳.۷, ۳.۸; see also the biography in Ibn-Ḥajar, vol. II, f. 40a, B.M., Or. 3044). Unfortunately the MS. gives no details of his administration.

Two small points of orthography are perhaps worth noting. The spelling of the Turkish names of mamlūks in Egypt offers some difficulty, in the absence of vowel points in MSS. and inscriptions. The traditional pronunciation of the Turkish name of this amir is Kūṣūn, which is still preserved in Cairo both in his mosque and in one of the quarters of the city. The common people, as usual, drop the guttural and pronounce it 'Uṣūn, and often 'Aysūn (compare Ṭulūn and Ṭaylūn); but Kūṣūn is the pronunciation among educated men. Weil, however, in his *Geschichte der Chalifen*, writes the name

Qauṣun, presumably with some reason. In the present MS. the name قَوْصُون is twice written with the two ḍammas, and the pronunciation Qūṣūn may therefore be accepted definitely on the authority of one of the court secretaries of the time. Ibn-Ḥajar also vocalizes the name with two ḍammas, as Mr. Ellis informs me. The other point is the orthography of Queen Shajar-al-durr, so written by Abu-l-Fidā, but corrected to the nomen unitatis Shajarat-al-durr by al-Maḥrizī and others. Lane (*Mod. Egypt.*, ii, 200, 3rd ed.: 1842) wrote 'Shejer-ed-durr (commonly called Shejeret-ed-durr)' and somewhat curiously stigmatized the latter spelling as vulgar (*Thousand and One Nights*, ch. vii, note 18). In the present MS., written eighty years after her death, the queen's name is given as Shajar-al-durr شَاجِر الدَّر.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

SWIFTIANA IN MARSH'S LIBRARY.

THE public library which Archbishop Marsh erected about the year 1700, on the grounds of the ancient palace, to the east of St. Patrick's Cathedral, possesses specimens of the handwriting of Dean Swift belonging to the beginning and the end of his career. In 1703 Swift brought out Sir. W. Temple's *Letters to the King*, &c., with his own name on the title-page as publisher. The presentation copy which he sent to Marsh is preserved in the library, with the Primate's other printed books, and bears on the fly-leaf the following inscription :—

*To His Grace | Narcissus, Lord Primate of | all Ireland | By His Graces |
most obedient | and most | humble servant | The Publisher.*

The genuineness of the autograph is placed beyond doubt by a note at the foot of the title-page in Marsh's own writing—" *Ex dono revdi Editoris, N. Armach.*" At a later date Swift penned a most uncharitable *Character of Primate Marsh*, but at this time the Archbishop was his patron, having presented Swift to the prebend of Dunlavin, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, in 1700. Marsh was translated from Dublin to Armagh in February 1703, and to that year the inscription almost certainly belongs.

The marginal notes of Dean Swift written in the 1707 edition of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* have been always an object of interest to visitors at Marsh's library. The bulk of them were published in Sir Walter Scott's edition of Swift's works 1814, vol. xii. It is to be presumed that Sir Walter

was furnished with a transcript by the then librarian, the Rev. Thomas Cradock. A careful comparison, however, of Scott's edition with the original reveals the fact that, while he has preserved a good deal that is now, after the lapse of nearly ninety years, quite illegible, yet Cradock, or the person he employed, overlooked some notes and misread others. It may be well, therefore, to place on record a full list of corrections and addenda for the benefit of those who interest themselves in the minutissima of a great personality.

It is difficult to date these marginalia exactly. According to Scott there was written on the first board of vol. i.—*Finished the 4th time April 18, 1741.* There is no trace of this now, the work having been since rebound. These successive perusals account for the fact that some of the notes are in ink, though most are in pencil; while in one or two cases Swift seems to have retraced in ink a remark originally in pencil. The date also harmonizes with the character of too many of the comments. "In the beginning of the year 1741," writes Dean Delany, quoted by Scott, "his understanding was so much impaired, and his passions so greatly increased, that he was utterly incapable of conversation." In the whole series of marginal jottings it is quite a relief to find occasionally one that varies the monotonous virulence of the writer's hatred of Scotland and the Scots. But many of the notes must be of a much earlier date than 1741. The copy of Clarendon's *History*, in which they are written, was presented to the library by Archbishop King. In the register of benefactions, the first list, which was evidently written at one time and by one hand, contains the names of all the books presented by King. Two of these were published as late as 1723. The next entry is dated April 12th, 1726. It is probable, therefore, that these volumes came into their present abode between 1723 and 1726. As

Dean of St. Patrick's, Swift was one of the governors of the library, and in that capacity attended many of the annual visitations between 1718 and 1736. It is natural to suppose that he was a constant reader.

There is one class of marking or note which is almost completely ignored in Scott's edition; *i.e.* places where Swift criticises or corrects Clarendon's English. Yet these are specially interesting, as expressing the views of a master of simple and lucid prose. He seems to have greatly disliked the repetition of the same word at short intervals; he called it *cacofonia*: so at least he characterises Charles II.'s phrase, "Those who would subject our subjects" (vol. iii., p. 586). Similarly there is a condemnatory mark under the word *that*, in i. 60, "Wise men knew that that which looked like 'pride in some, would, &c.," under *them*, in i. 124, "They brought them with them and presented them to the king." And under *most*, in ii. 31, "A thousand at the most. Most of the persons of quality, &c." In ii. 351, "As soon as the king had had fuller intelligence." The second *had* is altered to *received*; and in ii. 456, two *ands* are erased. Involved sentences also he objected to. Thus, in ii. 59, we read *too long a Parenthesis*; in ii. 285, *A long confounding Period*. This last remark refers to a sentence nineteen lines long, and containing three parentheses; and in iii. 157, he notes *Parenthesis 11 lines*. Swift considered the use of *without* in the sense of *except* to be an Hibernicism. In *A Dialogue in Hibernian Style* the following question and answer occur:—

"B. Will you go see him when you come unto our quarter?"

"A. Not without you go with me."

And again in *Irish Eloquence*, "Without you saw him on Sunday you would take him for a Brogadeer."

Yet Clarendon twice employs this locution. Swift

corrects it each time: vol. i. Preface, p. vii. "Ruling is a crown of briers and thorns that must be set on his head without he can satisfy all reasonable men," *except*.

vol. iii., p. 285. "The Commissioners were . . . not to consent to the King's coming into that kingdom without he likewise consented to those propositions," *bad*.

Of a different kind is the comment *vix intelligo* opposite this sentence in vol. iii., p. 311: "The king had . . . granted a commission to the Duke of Buckingham to raise a regiment of horse . . . and to raise another regiment of foot." The familiar *'tis* is corrected to *it is* in vol. ii., p. 178.

The other addenda to Sir Walter Scott's list are here placed in the order in which they occur.

vol. i., p. 60. Clarendon compares Charles I. with Nerva, who "was deified for uniting Imperium et Libertas": *Nego*.

p. 75. Opposite a description of Bishop Williams' book, *The Holy Table, &c.*: *Is that Book to be bought or borrowed?*

p. 122. "Alexander Henderson, their metropolitan (The Scots)": *A cursed Fanatick*.

p. 123, line 15: *Cursed Hellish Scots*.

p. 148. "Mr. Saint John (being a natural son of the house of Bullingbrook)": *A Bastard*.

p. 202. "The Archbishop of York": *Williams, before of Lincoln*.

vol. ii., p. 20. "Scottish officers": *Dogs*.

p. 40. "The King's preferring the Prince's [Rupert's] opinion in all matters relating to the war before his [Lord Lindsey's]": *I blame the King's Partiality*.

p. 48, line 28: *cursed Scots*.

p. 138. "Church of Scotland": *Kirk*.

p. 244. "We the inhabitants . . . within this garrison of Gloucester": *Cursed Rogues*.

p. 282. "His [Earl of Holland's] own generous nature": *treacherous*.

p. 288, Opposite extracts from the Solemn League and Covenant: *Damnable Rebel Scots*.

ib. "This Cause which so much concerneth the honour of the King": *by martyrdom*.

p. 316, line 37: *Scottish Dogs*.

p. 342. "This war was of God": *An error mistaking the Devil for God*.

p. 427, line 36: *caracter of Wilmot and Goring*.

vol. iii. Dedication, "Putting the King on the thoughts of marrying some Roman Catholick lady": *as he did*.

p. 27. *Cursed, abominable, hellish, Scottish villains, everlasting traitors, &c., &c., &c.*

p. 64. "Mr. Ashburnham had so great a detestation of the Scots": *so have I*.

p. 68. Hammond: *A detes. Villain, almost as wicked as a Scot*.

p. 77. "The King would by no means consent that the Prince should go into Scotland": *The King acted wisely not to trust the Scots*. [In Scott's ed. the extract from Clarendon is treated as Swift's comment on another sentence.]

p. 109, line 40: *so much the worse to rely on the cursed Scots*.

p. 145. Of Morrice's betrayal of Pontfret castle: *base*.

p. 189. "Harrison [Charles I.'s jailor] was the son of a butcher": *The fitter for that Office*.

p. 224, line 48: *Abominable Scotch Dogs*.

p. 348, line 50: *Scots*.

p. 559, line 54: *The Rump*.

It remains to note a few corrections of notes misplaced or misread by Scott's informant.

vol. i., p. 183. For "*Bishop of Atterbury*," read *Bp. A*.

p. 202. *Great magnanimity* is here, not on p. 199.

p. 205. For *I wish the author had enlarged upon what sanction the King passed that bill*, Read—*enlarged here upon what motives the King, &c.*

p. 275, of Bishop Williams: *How came he to be so hated by that faction he is said to form*, Read—he is so said to favour.

vol. ii., p. 283, line 36: *Diabolical Scots for ever* is here, and not on p. 281.

p. 283. The note *Treachery* on “the Earl of Holland’s generosity” is here and not on p. 281.

p. 284. “A form of words were quickly agreed on between them for a perfect combination and marriage between the Parliament and the Scots.” For *Satan, not parson*, Read—*Satan was parson*.

p. 351. “Duke Hamilton,” *an errant Scot*, Read *arrant*.

p. 385. Weemes: *a cursed Scot, &c.*, ins. *hellish* after *cursed*.

p. 453. *The case seems doubtful, the Point should be moderated*, Read—*should be undecided*.

vol. iii., p. 2. Ruvignie, *Father-in-law to Ld. Galloway*, omit *in-law*.

p. 31. For, *And her loyal men used the like saying*, Read *Another loyall man, &c.*

p. 168. For *Scotch piracy*, read—*Scotch principles*.

p. 172. The note, *Indeed a great Concession*, should be on “If they would preserve the Scripture Bishop he would take away the Bishop by Law.”

p. 199. For *only common Pity for his Death and the means of it*, Read—*the manner of it*.

p. 413. The note, *Bussy, relation amours de Gaules*, is here, not on p. 394.

It should also be noted that Scott has modernised Swift’s spelling in every instance.

The late Prof. G. T. Stokes, in the report which he presented in 1897 to the Governors of Marsh's library, called attention to the fact that there were in the library broadsheets which, he said, were evidently written by Dean Swift. He specified *Subscribers to the Bank placed according to their Order and Quality, with Notes and Queries*; *A Letter to the K— at Arms from a Reputed Esquire, one of the Subscribers to the Bank*; and *The Last Speech and dying Words of the Bank of Ireland*. The first two of these appear in editions of Swift's works, but the third, as we shall see, has no claim to be considered Swift's. There are eight pieces in all in Marsh's library relating to the proposed bank, including *A Letter from a Lady in Town to her Friend in the Country concerning the Bank*, which is also printed in Swift's works, and *Objections against the general Bank in Ireland*, which, from its vigour and clearness, has just as much right to be attributed to the Dean as any of the others. At that time pamphlets and broadsheets played the same part in directing public opinion that the daily and weekly papers do now. There were many writers of unsigned fugitive pieces, and consequently the attribution of any one of them to Swift is extremely uncertain.

A brief review of the chief facts in the history of this attempt to revive the trade and credit of Ireland may not be out of place. In consequence of a Report presented to the Lord Lieutenant by the Lord Chancellor and the Right Hon. William Conolly, Speaker of the House, the Viceroy announced in his speech at the opening of Parliament, September 12th, 1721, that "His Majesty had been graciously pleased, upon the application of several considerable persons of this kingdom, to direct that a commission be passed under the great seal of Ireland for receiving voluntary subscriptions in order to establish a bank"; yet "leaving it to the wisdom of Parliament to

consider what advantages the Publick might receive by erecting a bank, and in what manner it might be settled upon a safe foundation, so as to be beneficial to the Kingdom." The project met with opposition from the first; and it is only fair to those who wrecked it to remember that everywhere confidence in any financial scheme had been shaken by the South Sea Bubble, and that in Ireland bitter experience had produced serious doubts as to the sincerity and constancy of any English ministry. Forty-seven members in a house of one hundred and twenty voted against any discussion at all on the subject; and when a bill was brought in, on October 7th, a proposal, on October 14th, "that it be referred to the Committee this day two months" was only carried by ninety-eight against ninety-one; and finally, on December 9th, the Commons rejected it by a majority of seventy in a house of two hundred and thirty, thus falsifying Swift's prediction. On the 28th September he had written to Archbishop King—"I hear you are likely to be the sole opposer of the Bank; and you will certainly miscarry, because it would prove a most perfidious thing. Bankrupts are always for setting up banks; How then can you think a bank will fail of a majority in both houses?" Meanwhile the Commissioners had published a list of Subscribers, with a view to the election of Governors and Directors; consequently the Parliament was obliged to supplement their rejection of the bill by a Resolution, "That the erecting or establishing of a publick bank in this kingdom will be of the most dangerous and fatal consequence to his Majesty's service, and the trade and liberties of this nation." They also drew up petitions to the King and to the Lord Lieutenant deprecating such a calamity. Two days later, "the House being informed that a printed paper hath been published by John Harding entituled, *The Last Speech and dying Words of the Bank of Ireland, which was executed at*

College Green on Saturday, the 9th inst., containing great reflections on the proceedings of this House, which paper being produced and read at the table, Resolved, *nem. con.*, that the said printed paper is a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, highly reflecting on the justice and honour of this House." They also ordered the arrest of the printer, and appointed a committee to inquire who was the author, but apparently in vain. As Swift's views concurred with the decision of Parliament, it is impossible that he could have penned this sheet, which is besides obscure and dull. A private letter to Knightley Chetwode, dated Dec. 12th, 1721, and only recently published by G. Birkbeck Hill (*Unpublished Letters of Dean Swift*, 1899), might lead one to infer, if the writer were not Swift, that none of the pamphlets on this subject which are ascribed to him are really his composition. "You hear the Bank was kicked out with Ignominy last Saturday. This Subject filled the Town with Pamphlets, and none writt so well as by Mr. Rowley though he was not thought to have many Talents for an Author. As to my own Part I mind little what is doing out of my proper Dominions, the Libertyes of the Deanery; yet I thought a Bank ought to be established, and would be so because it was the onely ruinous Thing wanting to the Kingdom, and therefore I had not the least Doubt but the Parlm^t would pass it." The Mr. Rowley meant was Hercules Rowley, member for Londonderry County. There is in the library of T.C.D. a volume of pamphlets dealing with this matter. It contains two by H. Rowley, replies to two letters addressed to him by his nephew, Henry Maxwell, a keen supporter of the Bank. Notwithstanding Swift's affectation of indifference to public affairs, there is evidence that he was suspected of having written the satirical analysis of the list of subscribers mentioned above. In *The Bank of Ireland's Answer to the Author of the Notes and Queries*, preserved in Marsh's

Library, it is asked, "Do's the suppos'd Author put Cyphers to the Miter [*i.e.* set down the number of Archbishops subscribing as nought], because, perhaps, the Fall of a White Staff broke his hopes of wearing one seven Years ago?" alluding to the death of Queen Anne, which had finally put an end to Swift's hopes of preferment.

There is, however, one broadsheet which Prof. Stokes marked as by Swift, and which certainly internal evidence alone would warrant us in ascribing to him. Even in that age of intolerance and bigotry none but Swift could have expressed sectarian hatred with such an intensity of bitterness. It is entitled *Some Queries upon the Demand of the Presbyterians to have the Sacramental Test repealed at this session of the Parliament*. There are among his acknowledged works three or four short treatises on this subject, and this document embodies most of the arguments employed in them. It is reprinted at the end of this article. Marsh's Library also possesses the following pieces dealing with controversies in which Swift is known to have taken part, and which are possibly the product of his pen: *The State of the Roman Catholics of Ireland*, and *Short Reasons why our Gold money in Ireland should not be lowered*. The truth is, that Swift has himself to thank if his editors have the tendency which he once ascribes to his friend Knightley Chetwode: "Surely you in this Country have got the London Fancy, that I am Author of all the scurvy things that come out here."

NEWPORT J. D. WHITE.

APPENDIX.

SOME QUERIES UPON, THE Demand of the *Presbyterians* to have the *Sacramental Test* repealed at this Session of the Parliament.

Q. 1st. Whether for a thousand Years past, any Nation in the World professing Christianity, either Monarchies or Republicks, had not a National established Form of Christian Religion, both in Doctrine and Discipline, protected by the legislative and executive Power, and no other encouraged by the Publick ?

Q. 2d. Whether any Nation ever received Christianity without Episcopacy ?

Q. 3d. Whether every Sect in these Kingdoms, professing Christianity, be not much more zealous to advance it's own Sect into an Establishment, than most of our Church-men are to preserve the present Established Religion ?

Q. 4th. Whether the *Dutch*, who are allowed to be the greatest Indulgers of all Christian Sects, were ever known to employ in Civil Offices any other Christian Sect, than that of the *Calvinists*, which is their Established Religion ; although by the Necessity they lie under of employing mercenary Troops, they cannot be so cautious in that Point upon the Article of Religion ?

Q. 5th. Whether it doth not plainly appear by numberless Writings of the *Presbyterians*, that during their Power they were almost unanimously of opinion against allowing Liberty of Conscience to those who differed from them in Doctrine and Discipline. And whether according to that Principle, the Clergy were not persecuted all over *England*, during the Great Rebellion and Usurpation that ensued ?

Q. 6th. Whether after taking off the *Test*, there will, properly speaking, be any such thing as a National Established Church in this Kingdom, while every Denomination of Dissenter will have equal Right with those of the Church hitherto established, to all Civil and Military Employment ?

Q. 7th. Whether a full Liberty to purchase Estates, to frequent their own Conventicles, to revile the National Religion in their Books and Pamphlets, and to sit in either House of Parliament ;

be not a large and sufficient Indulgence to those Sects whose Grandfathers raised a most horrible Rebellion, murdered their King in cold Blood, abolished Monarchy, and destroyed the Church, far outdoing the Papists; who under King *James* the II^d. then their lawful Prince, attempted only the last, and failed in that one Attempt?

Q. 8th. Whether the *Presbyterians* within the Memory of Man, pretended to desire any more than a Liberty to serve God in their own Way? And whether they did not declare that they had no Intention to desire any Employments civil or military?

Q. 9th. Whether those Sectaries who pretend Scruples of Conscience on account of a few innocent Ceremonies, and reject the primitive Government of the Church, received in all Christian States from the first Establishment of Christianity, while at the same time they practise all Kinds of Fraud, Oppression, and other Immoralities in their private Lives and Dealings, as much as other common Mortals, who affect no superior Sanctity, be not most damnable Hypocrites?

Q. 10th. Whether, after the *Test* shall be repeal'd, the Godly *Scottish* Domine's of *Ulster* will not, in a proper Season, expect and demand, that in every Parish where the Number of their schismatical Proselytes exceed the Conformists, the Tythes may be divided between the Episcopal Incumbent and Dissenting Teacher in a just Proportion to the Numbers of each Congregation?

Q. 11th. Whether the *Scottish Ulster* Presbyterian Farmers, Tradesmen, and Cottagers, who pretend Scruples of Conscience in paying Tythes, as contrary to the Laws of God, especially to the Professors of what they call an idolatrous Worship; be not a more knavish, wicked, thievish Race, than even the natural *Irish* of the three other Provinces?

Q. 12th. Whether after the Repeal of the *Test*, we may not expect to see new Swarms of hungry *Scots* flying over from beyond the *Tweed*, where they cannot be provided for, both on account of their Numbers and tender Consciences, and seize all the lower scattered Employments in the Revenue, as well as Posts in the Army, according to their Measure of Credit with those in Power, and by their own celebrated National Dexterity?

Q. 13th. Whether the Complaints of the *Presbyterians* against the *Test*, as a Grievance imposed upon them of later Years, be any Weight, since it hath appeared, by sad Experience, that such a *Test* was more wanted here than in England?

Q. 14th. Whether the *Scottish* Leaven, molded up with *Presbytery*, hath not been always found to treble the Rancour, Treachery, Malice, and Rage of a common *English* Presbyterian?

Q. 15th. Whether damnable Opinions relating to Civil Government, particularly with regard to Monarchy, and those Opinions followed by the most horrid Facts as their natural Consequences, have not proved in these Kingdoms more destructive to publick Peace than all the superstitious idolatrous Fopperies, Follies, Absurdities and Confederacies of the *Irish* Papists themselves, who never proceeded so far, as either to sell or murder their King?

Q. 16th. Whether before the *Test* shall be repealed, it might not be proper, that the *Presbyterians* and their other appendant Sects should be intreated to give some Security, that when they or any of the several Denominations shall become, in due Time, the National Established Religion, they will condescend to allow a Toleration to those of the Episcopal Communion, for some reasonable Term of Years; or at least during the Lives of the present set, who are come to the Age of One and Twenty, on Condition that they shall breed up all their Children in whatever Form of Worship shall be then predominant?

LATIN VERBS IN *-IO* WITH INFINITIVES IN *-ĒRE*.

IT was independently observed by Giles¹ and Berneker² that the small group of Latin verbs which have *-io* in the present indicative and *-ĕre* in the infinitive have all of them a short root-syllable. But it is admitted that no satisfactory explanation of the fact has yet been found. Mr. Giles remarks:—"The causes of the difference in treatment between these" (*i.e.* verbs like *fugio morior*, etc.) "and the verbs which make the infinitive in *-ire* are hard to discover. The simplest explanation seems to be that, apart from denominatives from *-i-* stems, only those verbs belonged originally to the so-called fourth conjugation which had a long root-syllable, the suffix in that case appearing as *-iio-*." But that is scarcely put forward as an adequate explanation: we are still left to ask why the length of the root-syllable should have influenced the form of the suffix.

Before I venture to attempt an explanation, it will be convenient to inquire what the exact facts are. Can we say, without qualification, that verbs like *fugio* and *morior* are of the so-called third conjugation? The evidence of the Romance languages shows that in spoken Latin these verbs had infinitives in *-ire*. The classical *fugere*, *mori*, *fodere* are represented by the Italian *fuggire*, *morire*, *fodire*, the French *fuir*, *mourir*, *fouir*. That these infinitives in *-ire* were not merely late formations due to the analogy of other verbs in *-io* is proved by a certain number of passages in classical Latin, and a very much larger number of

¹ *Manual of Comp. Phil.*² p. 443.

² *Indo-germ. Forschungen*, viii., S. 197 t.

passages in early Latin, in which similar forms proper to the fourth conjugation occur. Amongst others we find *moriri* in Ovid (*Met.* xiv. 215), *cupiret* in Lucretius (i. 71), *fodiri* in Cato (*R. R.* 2, 4), *parire* in Ennius (*A.* 8. B.).¹ In Plautus such forms are very common: for instance, the infinitive of *mōrior* is always *moriri* in Plautus, never *mori*. Less familiar instances are *facimus* Truc. 60, *facite* Poen. 1392, *faci* (*libri facē*) Pers. 398, *facis* Am. 555, *facit* Truc. 555 and Capt. 200, *percipit* Men. 921, *cupis* Curc. 363, and others.²

That, in the fourth century, the correct form of the infinitive in this class of verbs was uncertain and disputed is indicated by a curious passage in S. Augustine. At the end of a letter to Nebridius on the question, "Qua in re sita sit vera beatitudo" (*S. Aug. Ep.* iii. 5 [Migne, Tom. ii. col. 66]), he says:—"Fortunae autem bona verissimi sapientes, quos solos beatos fas est vocari, nec timeri voluerunt, nec cupi—an cupiri, tu videris. Et belle accidit. Nam volo me declinationis hujus gnarum facias. Cum enim adjungo verba similia, incertior fio. Nam ita est cupio ut fugio, ut sapio, ut iacio, ut capio; sed utrum fugiri an fugi, utrum sapiri an sapi, sit modus infinitus, ignoro." This letter is assigned to the year 387, when Augustine was 33 years old: he was a professor of rhetoric, and, though he was born in Africa, Latin was his mother-tongue (*Conf.* i. 14), and he had been living in Italy for four years (*Conf.* v. 8). It is safe to assume then that both forms of such infinitives could then be heard in the conversation of educated Italians. Unfortunately we have not Nebridius' answer; but, in a passage of Probus,³ we have some indication of the method

¹ For a full list see Neue-Wagener: *Formenl.* ³ iii., S. 243 ff.

² Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *Captivi*, 1900, *Intro.* p. 13.

³ It seems to be uncertain whether

the Probus who has left the *Instituta Artium* is M. Valerius Probus (Berytius), the famous grammarian of the first century (cf. Martial, iii. 2, 12), or another Probus who lived in the begin-

which he would probably have employed in deciding the question.¹

“Quaeritur qua de causa *fugere* et non *fugire* dicatur. Hac de causa, quoniam quaecumque verba imperativo modo temporis praesentis ex secunda persona numeri singularis *e* littera terminantur, haec in eadem persona *re* syllabam accipiunt, et infinitum modum temporis praesentis suae qualitatis ostendunt, ut, puta, *scribe scribere*. Nunc cum dicat Vergilius ‘fuge litus avarum,’ utique iam infinito modo *fugere*, non *fugire*, facere pronuntiatur.”—Probus, *Inst. Art.*, p. 426 (ed. Keil,¹ iv. 185, 20.)

Noteworthy here is the use which Probus makes of analogy, and the fact that he argues from the imperative to the infinitive, as though the correct ending of the former was less open to question than that of the latter. It appears then that it is only in classical Latin that verbs of the type of *fugio* are consistently of the so-called third conjugation, though even there forms proper to the fourth appear sometimes, while in early Latin such forms are numerous.

Which was the earlier conjugation of these verbs? It has been generally assumed without question that they belonged from the first to the third conjugation, and it is attempted to explain the difficulties of their morphology by supposing that in the original language there was gradation in the suffix. In *fug-ī-mus* for instance, it has been supposed that *-ī-* is the short form of the weak grade (*ī*, *ī*) of the suffix *īo*, *īe*, and that the conjugation is athematic.²

But that theory is admittedly full of difficulties. There is no trace of gradation in Aryan and Greek, and the

ning of the fourth century. Keil, the editor of the *Inst. Art.*, refers all quotations from Probus to the Berytian, at least so far as regards their substance. See Teuffel, *Hist. Roman Lit.*, Trans. Warr, vol. ii., §§ 300, 301.

¹ Quoted by Neue, *loc. cit.*

² See Stolz, *Lat. Gram.*³ S. 168, who refers to Streitberg in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge z. Geschichte d. deutschen Spr. u. Lit.* 14, 224 f.

athematic conjugation has been generally abandoned in Latin. Moreover, no reason has hitherto been assigned why a short form of the supposed weak grade of the suffix should be added to short root-syllables, and a long form of that weak grade to long root-syllables. Berneker¹ sees, in such Gothic forms as *haffjis*, *sōkeis*, instances of the same variation, and claims that they are regulated by the same law; but, as will be shown below, the variation observed in Gothic is distinct from that observed in Latin. Such, then, are some of the difficulties involved in the assumption that verbs of the type of *fugio* were originally and normally of the third conjugation. If, however, we begin by supposing that those verbs were all originally of the fourth conjugation—that, for instance, *cupīs* and *cupīret* are older than *cupīs* and *cupēret*—then, as I hope to show, not only do those difficulties disappear, but we can at the same time explain the change which has taken place in their system of conjugation.

Taking *iacio* as a type of its class, let us assume that in the earliest Latin it was conjugated throughout its present stem after the model of the so-called fourth conjugation—*iācio*, *iācīs*, *iācīt*, *iācīmus*, etc. Three of its inflexions would, at that period, have been iambic words, namely, *iācīs*, *iācīt*, and *iācī*. Under the influence of the *Breves Breviantes Law*, those three iambic words would have become pyrrhics in spoken Latin. We find, for example, in Plautus, such scansions as *āmās* (*Pers.* 177), *vidēs* (*Rud.* 942), *dbīs* (*Pers.* 50, and often): *abi*, as is well known, is much more often a pyrrhic than an iambus in Plautus. *Iacīs*, *iācīt*, *iācī* would become then in conversation *īdcīs*, *īdcīt*, *īdcī*. At first, without doubt, these shortened forms would retain the power of returning to their original iambic value whenever, from any cause, such as the addition of an enclitic, the

¹ *Indo-germ. Forschungen*, viii., S. 197 f.

verbal accent fell on the termination. But they would, as we know from Plautus, be more often used with pyrrhic than iambic value; and, the analogy of the corresponding inflexions of the third conjugation exerting its influence, they would be permanently shortened. *Iaci* would then become *iacē*: cf. *marē* for *marī*, etc. Of course the influence of the Breves Breviantes Law would not have been confined to verbs of the fourth conjugation: any verb which had a short root-syllable and inflexions of iambic value would have fallen under the influence of that law; but it is only in the fourth conjugation that the action of that law on iambic inflexions would have tended to produce confusion of conjugation. *Amās*, *amāt*, *amā*, and *monēs*, *monēt*, *monē* are not, through the shortening of their second syllables, assimilated to a different and actually existing type of conjugation. To return, then, to our supposed *iacīre*, we now have three of its inflexions assimilated to the third conjugation: is it probable that the principle of analogy would have been strong enough to cause that assimilation to proceed further? It is hard to believe that that principle would have been strong enough unaided to produce the results which we see; nor does my theory require any such belief. But still, in this connexion, we may notice the interesting fact that Probus, in the passage quoted above, argues that the infinitive of *fugio* ought to be *fugēre*, and not *fugīre*, because its imperative is *fugē*. That at least proves that the influence of analogy was powerfully felt by the grammarians, and that it played a great part in the formation of the rules that guided the literary Roman. But we need not yet throw the whole burden of what remains to be done in this process of change on the principle of analogy: the Breves Breviantes Law is capable of working a further change. Forms like *iācīrētur*, *iācīrémur*, etc., would have fallen under the influence of the Breves Breviantes Law, if it be admitted that that law was

capable of shortening *naturally* long medial vowels. This Mr. W. M. Lindsay formerly denied, but he has now receded from that position. In his admirable edition of the *Captivi*, published last year, he admits that instances of such shortening "are perhaps too well attested to be put aside," though he still maintains that they are "very rare," (Intro., p. 34). F. Skutsch has always maintained the possibility of such shortening; and in his *Iambenkürzung u. Synizese*, in *Satura Viadrina*, Breslau, 1896, he has given a large number of undoubted instances from Plautus. I purposely select a few such instances in which the naturally long vowel shortened is the stem-vowel of a verb:

Vel *īre* *ētra* pōrtam Trīgeminam ād saccūm licēt. *Capt.* 90.

Prōperas ān non prōperas *dbīre* actūtum ab hīs regiōnibūs.

Trin. 983.

Intro *dbīte* atque haēc, etc. *Pseud.* 168.

Prōrsum Athēnas prōtinus *dbībo*, etc. *Mil.* 1193.

Quid ād me ibātis?—Rīdiculūm.—*Verēbdmīnī*. Ter. *Phorm.* 902.

Si irātum scōrtum fōrte est *dmālorī* suō. *Truc.* 46.

We must regard it, then, as an established and recognised truth that naturally long vowels could be shortened under the Breves Breviantes Law, even when they were not final, and consequently we must admit that such inflexions as *iācīrētur*, etc., would have been shortened in ordinary conversation. *Iācīrētur* would become *iācīrētur*, exactly as *vēl īre ētra* becomes *vēl īre ētra* in Plautus; and *iācīretur* would become *iācēretur* by the sound-law that *ī* becomes *ē* in Latin before *r*: cf. *sēro* for **sīsō*. We may see this part of the process half completed in the double forms *ōrīrētur* and *ōrēretur*. At the same time the analogy of the corresponding inflexions of the third conjugation—*regeretur*, etc.—would doubtless co-operate with the

sound-law just mentioned in making permanent the change from *iacĭretur*, etc., to *iacĕretur*, etc.

We now have the supposed *iacĭre* assimilated to the third conjugation in eleven of its inflexions. Nor would the influence of the Breves Breviantes Law end here. Forms like *iacĭret* would fall under the influence of the law when they were followed by enclitics, as *iacĭrĕtne cūpĭrĕtque*, and these occasional shortenings would help on the gradual assimilation of all the inflexions of the present stem to the type of the third conjugation.

If we assume that verbs of this type were originally of the fourth conjugation, we must necessarily admit this influence on their inflexions of the B. B. Law, unless we suppose the action of that law, as known and proved in Plautus, to have been in this case suspended. But this direct influence of the B. B. Law would only extend, as we have seen, to eleven inflexions—three originally iambic words, *idcis*, *idcĭt*, *idce*, and seven polysyllables, *iacerĕmus*, *iacerĕtis*, *iacereris*, *iacerĕtur*, *iacerĕmur*, *iacerĕmini*, *iacerĕntur*, *iacĭtōte*. What remains to be accomplished of the process of change must be the work of the principle of analogy. But how far did that process go? Before answering that question we must distinguish between literary and spoken Latin; for we have evidence that, in this respect, as in others, there was divergence between them. We know, for instance, that literary Romans wrote *fugĕre*, *rapĕre*, *mori*, etc.: but the Romance forms *fuggire*, *rapire*, *morire*, are evidence that, in ordinary speech, other inflexions were heard. Regarding the usage of literary, or classical, Latin, we have full information, and can answer at once that there the process of change went as far as it could. Verbs of the type of *fugio* were, in the present stem, completely assimilated to the third conjugation, and all lingering forms of the older system were banished. What the Breves Breviantes Law had begun, the principle of analogy,

vigorously employed by grammarians, completed. How thoroughly and confidently that principle was employed by Roman grammarians we learn from the passage of Probus already cited. But regarding the usage of the living popular Latin the evidence is less complete. We know certainly that forms proper to the fourth conjugation remained in use, but exactly how many such forms remained we cannot say. We need not suppose that there was absolute uniformity in the case of each verb. For instance, Italian *facere*, French *faire*, point to *facĕre* in popular Latin: contrast *fuggire*, *fuir*, etc. The different treatment of *facio* would be due to the fact that it was by far the commonest of the verbs in -io,—a verb continually interchanged between gentle and simple—while a word like *fodio* would be used chiefly amongst peasants. The testimony of Plautus is, of course, invaluable; but a certain caution is necessary in interpreting it. Before drawing a positive conclusion from the occurrence in comedy of any syllable with short quantity, we must first decide whether it is absolutely short, or merely shortened under the Breves Breviantes Law. An example will, perhaps, make this clearer. In Plaut. *Trin.* 1034, we find:—

Scūta *iċcere* *fūgereque* hōstis mōre habēnt licētiām.

Can we from this verse draw the positive conclusion that the infinitives of *iacio* and *fugio* were in Plautus' time definitely of the third conjugation? We can, if we first prove that it would have been impossible for Plautus to shorten a supposed *iacĕre* and *fugĕre* under the metrical conditions found in this verse. But in v. 983 of the same play we find:—

Próperas án non próperas *dbĕre* actútum ab hīs regiónibús ?

Now it would have been easier for Plautus to shorten a supposed *iacĕre*, than to shorten *abĕre*, because the analogy of *iacĭs*, *iacĭt*, *iacĕretur*, etc., would have pulled in the direction

of *iacēre*, while the analogy of *ire*, *is*, *iret*, etc., would have pulled against *dbire*. We cannot, then, see in such lines as *Trin.* 1034 conclusive evidence that, in the time of Plautus, verbs of the type of *fugio* had infinitives in *-ēre* rather than in *-ire*. They do not even prove that Plautus did not actually write *idcīre* and *fūgīre* in the line quoted. In matters of spelling the testimony of our MSS. is not conclusive, and we may observe that, in *Trin.* 983, quoted above, the MSS. are divided between *dbire* and *dbere*. The comparative rareness of such accentuation and such shortening in Plautus (we cannot, however, escape from *dēcēre* in *Capt.* 321, unless we either ‘emend’ or do violence to metrical rules) would be partly explained if the class of verbs in which it would be, *ex hypothesi*, most likely to occur had later passed over to another form of conjugation. If we could find *facīs ut* or *fugēre* as tribrachs in iambic metre, such instances would be conclusive evidence of fixed short quantity. The evidence of Romance, as we have seen, points to the fact that the Infinitive Present permanently resisted in spoken Latin the influence of analogy in bringing about *Ausgleichung*. We may reasonably conclude, therefore, on the evidence, that these verbs continued to fluctuate in vulgar Latin between the third and fourth conjugations; and that their consistent assimilation to the third, which we find in classical Latin, was largely the work of the grammarians.

Berneker¹ points out that, in the remains of Umbrian, the corresponding class of verbs invariably have *ī*. He instances *hereitū*, the Umbrian representative of Lat. *hōrior* (cf. Gk. *χαίρω*). When the close kinship of Umbrian to Latin is considered, this seems to be a very significant fact.

The morphology of the Latin verbs in *-io* now becomes

¹ *Indo-germ. Forschungen*, viii., S. 199.

easier. We explain -ĭ-, wherever it occurs in them, as having been earlier -ī-, and -ī- can be easily explained as the natural Latin representative of the suffix *ie*. That suffix is divisible into two parts, the consonantal *i* and *ē*, identical with the ordinary thematic vowel. The consonantal *i* becomes *ĭ* in Latin after a consonant, as in *medius* from Idg. *medhios*. The thematic vowel, *ē*, *ō*, also becomes *ĭ* in Latin everywhere, except in the first person singular and the third person plural. These two short *i*'s would coalesce to form *ī*: cf. *tibicen* for *tibi-ī-cen*. Even if contraction had taken place while the thematic vowel was in Latin still *ē*, we should still have *ī*: cf. *filii* for *filīē*, *sīris* for *sīēris*, etc. *Saliunt* shows the suffix in the form *io*, = *sal-io-nti*. We thus bring Latin into perfect harmony with Aryan and Greek. We show that there is no necessity, so far as Latin is concerned, for postulating an original grade *ī*, *ĭ* of the suffix *io*, *ie*, when we explain *ī* and *ĭ* as not inherited from the original language, but developed later in Latin by the operation of special sound-laws.

It has, however, been supposed that the same variation between *ī* and *ĭ* exists in Gothic. Berneker¹ compares the Latin *sāgis* and *cāpis* with their Gothic cognates *sōkeis* and *hafjis*, and claims that Gothic agrees with Latin in showing *ī* after long root-syllables, and *ĭ* after short ones. F. Lorenz also,² taking it for granted that the *io*-suffix exhibited gradation in the original language, states that, while Aryan and Greek have generalised the form *io*, *ie*, German and Latin agree in having generalised the form *ī*, *ĭ*. He states also that Latin and German agree in having the form *ī* after long root-syllables, and the form *ĭ* after short ones. If the facts are as stated, my argument is seriously damaged: I should be forced either to abandon it, or to prove that the same

¹ *Indo-germ. Forschungen*, viii., S. 197.

² *Ibid.* viii., S. 108.

phenomenon could arise independently in Latin and Gothic, which would be, in this case, highly improbable. But the facts do not appear to be as stated. Unless my interpretation of the evidence of Gothic is altogether at fault, there is no trace in that language of a weak grade of the *io*-suffix in the form *ī*. It is in verbs of the type of *hafjan* that Berneker detects such a form of the suffix. The inflexions of the present indicative of *hafjan* (omitting the dual) are—*hafja*, *hafjis*, *hafjith*, *hafjam*, *hafjith*, *hafjand*. Here the root is *haf-*, and the suffix appears under the forms *ja* and *ji*, corresponding to Idg. *io* and *ie* respectively. *Haf-ji-s* and *haf-ji-th* do not correspond to Latin *cap-ī-s* and *cap-ī-t*, but to Idg. *kap-īe-s(i)*, *kap-īe-t(i)*. There is an *ī* in *hafjis*, it is true; but it represents not the whole of the suffix *ie*, but the latter half of it, and to use it as evidence of the existence in Gothic of a grade *ī* of the *io*-suffix, is as erroneous—and, I may add, as surprising—as it would be to use the Greek form ἄλλ-ε-ραι in order to prove the existence in Greek of the same suffix in a grade *ē*.

If we take the corresponding inflexions of *sōkjan* we have: *sōkja*, *sōkeis*, *sōkeith*, *sōkjam*, *sōkeith*, *sōkjand*. Here the suffix appears three times as *ja* (Idg. *io*), and three times as *ei* (= *ī*). Is that *ei* an inheritance from the original language? If so, why does it only appear as a variation for *ji*? Why do we not find **sōkeim* and **sōkeind*? Occurring only where it does, it is open to us to regard it as derived from an earlier *ji* by the coalescence of semivowel and cognate vowel, the result of the operation of a special law in Gothic. At least we may reasonably suppose so until the contrary is proved. That we have here an effect of a special sound-law is rendered more probable by the fact that the variation between *ji* and *ei*, in Gothic, is not confined to *io* verbs, but is regular in nouns and adjectives

under precisely the same circumstances : cf. *harjis*, *hatrdeis*; *midjis*, *wiltheis*. In these cases, too, it is not a variation between *ei* (= *ī*) and *ī* that we find, but a variation between *ei* and *ji*. The facts then for Gothic, as regards the distribution of the different forms of the *io*-suffix are, as I understand them, these: Gothic agrees with Aryan and Greek in showing the full grade of the suffix *io*, *ie*; but in polysyllables, and in verbs having long closed root-syllables, *ei* (= *ī*) is found in place of *ie* (= Gothic *jī*). Where the long root-syllable was open, however, the uncontracted *-ji-* is found, as e.g. in *stōjis*, in order that hiatus may be avoided. Thus, if it be admitted that forms like *sōkeis* and *hatrdeis* may have arisen from **sōkejis* and **hatrdjis* (cf. Lat. *sal-ī-s* from Idg. *sal-ie-sī*, through *sal-ī-s*), then the evidence of Gothic for gradation of the *io*-suffix disappears.

In the Baltic-Slavonic group, it appears that the full grade of the suffix in the forms *io*, *ie* is invariably found, except in the case of verbs, in which "ein ausserpräsentischer Stamm auf -ē- vorhanden ist"¹: in that case the Baltic languages have *ī*, and the Slavonic languages have *ī*. I am not competent to discuss the sound-laws of Baltic-Slavonic; but this at least may be said, that if the various modifications of the *io*-suffix actually found, and the circumstances under which they occur in the various languages, are to be considered as affording evidence of the practice of the original language, then that evidence is full of inconsistencies and wars against itself; and the construction of a scheme of conjugation for the *io*-verbs in the original language is a work for the mathematician rather than for the philologist. The very fact that the variations *ī*, *ī* are only found in Baltic-Slavonic when the (non-presential) stem ends in -ē-,

¹ F. Lorenz, *Indo-germ. Forschungen*, viii., S. 108.

suggests that we have here a mere special result of the influence of stem-vowel on suffix.

To return to Latin, a few words must be said about the exceptions to the law that verbs in *-io* with a short root-syllable are of the third conjugation. Berneker has discussed them (*loc. cit.*), and instances polysyllables like *sēpēlio* and *āmicio*, and the following trisyllables: *vēnio*, *rūgio*, *mūgio*, *sārio*, *fērio*, *sālio*. All of these can be explained. Firstly, polysyllables would not fall under the influence of, the Breves Breviantes Law in the 2 and 3 per. sing. pres. ind. and 2 pers. sing. imperative: thus *sēpēlis*, *sēpēlit*, etc. This would be true both of simple and of compound verbs: hence *reperire* beside *parere*, and *amicire* beside *iacere*. If however, the meaning of the compound suggested the meaning of the simple verb, analogy would assimilate the conjugation of the compound to that of the simple verb. Hence *deicere* beside *amicire*. *Amicio* (*cf.* Gk. ἀμφιβάλλω) would probably no more suggest *iacere* than to an ordinary Englishman 'don' suggests 'do': hence *amicio* was not assimilated to *iacio*. *Conicere*, *deicere*, however, do suggest the simple verb: hence the assimilation. *Vēnīmus*, *vēnīre*, etc., would be preserved from change by the analogy of *īmus*, *īre*, etc. This is the explanation of Berneker, except that he supposes an original *venīmus*, etc., to have been changed to *venīmus*, etc., by the power of analogy. *Mūgire* and *rūgire* were preserved by the analogy of other verbs in *-ire*, imitative of the cries of animals, all of which, as Berneker points out, have long root-syllables, except only *mugio* and *rugio*. The exceptions *sārire*, *fērire*, and *sālire* have not hitherto been satisfactorily explained. I would suggest that all three exceptions are due to the same cause, namely, that the tendency to assimilate their forms to the type of the third conjugation was checked on account of the possibility of confusion with the forms of *sēro*, *fēro*, and *sālo*, respectively. For example, if a tendency had manifested

itself to pronounce *sarīret*, *ferīret*, and *salīret* as *sarĕret*, *ferĕret*, and *salĕret*, such innovations would probably have suggested *serĕret*, *ferret*, and *sallĕret*, respectively. Though the sounds are not identical, they would probably be near enough to check any incipient change of pronunciation.

It may be objected that if the B. B. Law could change *fugī* to *fugĕ*, it should also have changed *abī* to *abĕ*, and *abīs* to *abĭs*. It did so temporarily, as we know from Plautus ; but it could not have done so permanently owing to the analogy of *ī*, *īs*, etc. *Sitire*, also, though a denominative, might have fallen under the influence of the same law had it not been protected by the analogy of *esurire* and other desideratives, all of which are polysyllabic.

But it would be rash to attribute to the Breves Breviantes Law so powerful an influence without carefully considering all the consequences involved. That supposed influence could not have been confined to one small group of verbs : it must have acted upon, and, it would seem, have modified all verbs which had short root-syllables. I must then briefly inquire if there are any traces of such influence outside the small group of *io*-verbs with short root-syllables.

I have supposed that the process of change in the case of verbs like *fugio* depended upon, or began with, the influence of the B. B. Law on such of their inflexions as were, *ex hypothesi*, originally iambic words. We know from Plautus that *all* verb-forms which were iambic words were subject to shortening by the B. B. Law ; but, as has been pointed out, *it was only in the case of the fourth conjugation that the forms so shortened were assimilated to the type of one of the other conjugations*. Thus, if an original **fugīs*, **fugīt*, **fugī* became *fugīs*, *fugīt*, *fugĕ*, the shortened forms would have suggested the third conjugation ; but *amās*, *amāt*, *amā*, or *monēs*, *monēt*, *monē* could not suggest one of the other conjugations. I suppose, further, that where this particular effect of the B. B. Law was absent, no

process of general change affecting the verb as a whole could be initiated—or perhaps it would be more strictly accurate to say that no change affecting the present stem could be initiated. Consequently *the B. B. Law was unable permanently to modify the present stem of any verb of the first, second, or third conjugation.*

It remains, therefore, to inquire whether it could have influenced perfect and supine stems, and I will first consider the perfect and supine stems of the second or *ē*-conjugation. The verbs of the *ē*-conjugation form their perfect in several ways, but it is obvious that aorist-perfects like *auxi* or reduplicated perfects like *momordi* could not have been modified by the *B. B. Law*. We take then the verbs forming their perfect by means of the suffix *-ui*. If we compare *amā-s* and *audī-s* with *monē-s*, *amā-bo*, and *audī-bo* (Plautus) with *monē-bo*, *amā-rem* and *audī-rem* with *monē-rem*, it is obvious that there is the closest analogy between the present stems of the three vowel-conjugations. The three conjugations also agree in the manner in which they form their perfects and supines, so far as the suffixes are concerned: all three have perfects in *-ui* and supines in *-tum*. But the *ē*-verbs differ from the *ā*-verbs and the *i*-verbs in adding the suffixes *-ui* and *-tum* to modifications of the present stem. Beside *amā-ui* and *audī-ui* we have *mon-ui*, beside *amā-tum* and *audī-tum*, we have *monī-tum*. Whence comes this seeming irregularity? And what account are we to give of the stem of *monē-re*? *Amā-re* and *audī-re* have one stem for all parts of their inflexion, but *monere* seems to have three—*monē-*, *mon-*, and *monī-*.

The explanation usually given is that this seeming variation in the stem of *monere* is derived from the original Indogermanic, the Latin *ē*-verbs being compared with the Sanskrit Causatives and Intensives, in which the suffix *-aya-* is not confined to the present stem.¹ Against that

¹ So Mr. Giles, *op. cit.* p. 444.

view several objections may be urged ; but it is the less necessary to state them here, because the theory here put forward as to the morphology of verbs like *fugere* is not in the least affected if it be admitted that that view is correct. Thus, if the Latin *mon-i-tus* really corresponds morphologically to, e.g., the Sanskrit *kār-i-tāh*, the participle of *kārdyati*, the causative of *kr*, 'make,' and if the stem of *mon-ui* is equally derived from the original language, it is clear that the B. B. Law could not have influenced such forms, and the absence from the *ē*-conjugation of any visible traces of the action of that law would be no argument against its influence in other conjugations. Yet, while the theory here proposed as to the morphology of verbs like *fugere* would be in no way invalidated by the proved correctness of the ordinary view as to the morphology of verbs like *monere*, yet that theory is considerably strengthened if it can be shown that all the variations of the stem of *monere* can be accounted for without going outside the Latin language itself, by the operation of the very same law which is here supposed to have so profoundly modified the forms of verbs like *fugere*. The suspicion that here too, in the *ē*-conjugation, the B. B. Law has been at work, is at once aroused by the fact that *nearly all verbs of the ē-conjugation (and all the oldest ones) having perfects in -ui and supines in -itum have short root-syllables.*

Let us suppose then that, as the result of that 'levelling' which was so characteristic of Latin, *monē-re* was originally in harmony with the other two vowel conjugations, and had forms **monē-ui* and **monē-tum*. It is certain that the action of the B. B. Law, assisted by analogy, might have changed such forms to *monui* and *monitum*. I assume, as before, as a fact now generally admitted, that the B. B. Law had the power of shortening naturally long medial vowels. Firstly, all forms accented like **monēutsti* or **monēutlssem* would have been affected. Thus **monēutsti* would have

become **monēuistī*, then* *monōuistī*, and finally *monuisti* : cf. *uiduus* from Idg. *uidheuos* (Gk. $\eta\iota\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma = \eta\text{-}\text{F}\iota\theta\epsilon\text{F}\omicron\varsigma$). Secondly such forms as **monētūrus* would have become *moniturus*, just as **monēmētum* became *monimentum* or as *ualētūdo* is found spelled *ualitudo*. This change would at first affect all inflexions in which the accent fell immediately after the stem-vowel, while the other forms remained unchanged; but analogy would tend to eliminate one of the forms, the surviving form being not necessarily the one occurring in the majority of the inflexions, but the one occurring in the inflexions which were most constantly in use. Such a theory would account for the origin of the stems *mon-* and *moni-*, and of the ordinary perfect and supine stems of all such verbs of the *ē*-conjugation as have short root-syllables and form their perfect in *-ui*. But of the verbs of the *ē*-conjugation which form their perfects in *-ui*, the great majority, as has already been said, have short [root-syllables, and consequently the manner of forming the perfect and supine in verbs like *moneo* would be extended by analogy to the whole of the *ē*-verbs with perfects in *-ui*. That would explain such forms as *pārui* and *paritum*, *terrui* and *territum*. Of the few *ē*-verbs which have long root-syllables, several are obviously new formations due to analogy; e.g. *frondē-re* from *frondī-*. We still find traces of what I am here supposing to have been the older method of forming the perfect and supine in this division of the *ē*-verbs. We have *abolēui* beside *abolui*, *exolētus* beside *aboli-tum* and *adultus*, *uiētus* beside *uīētus* (Hor. *Epod.* 13, 7), and *merēto* (apparently) in the well-known Saturnians—

Decumā factā poloúcta—líbereís lubéntis

Donú danúnt Hércoleí—máxsumé *merēto*.(?)¹

With *uiētus* we may compare the double form *uiētor*

¹ Titinn. ap. Non. p. 277, 6.

and *uītor*: *uītor* would naturally arise in the oblique cases—*uītōris* = *uīētōris* = *uītoris*—while *uīētor* would be the original pronunciation of the nominative. Cf. also *quiētus*, in Plaut. *Epid.* 338.

The older form also survives in the epithet of *Iuno Monēta*: cf. 'Our Lady of Good Counsel.' In Plautus we must not expect to find such forms in our MSS., but nevertheless they sometimes seem to underlie the traditional text. E.g., in *Rud.* 106 f. we find:

Filfolam ego ūnam *habui*, eam ūnam pēdidī:

Uirīle sēcus [*libri*, *sexus*] numquam ūllum *habui*.—at dī dabūnt.

Here *sexus* cannot be right, even though it appears in the line as quoted by Priscian; and both verses therefore are unmetrical, but at once become metrical if we substitute *habēui* (or *habūi*?—a form in which the original quantity might conceivably have survived in Plautus' time). The solemn effect of the already archaic forms may have been intentional, and is certainly in keeping with the marked asyndeton and the thrice-repeated, pathetic stress on *ūnam—ūnam—ūllum*. With this compare *Bacch.* 939:—

Bacchīdem habet sēcum, ille ōlim *habuit* īgnem quī signūm darēt.
(Read *habēuit*?)

Pers. 697:—

Atque ēdepol tū me *commonuisti* haū malē.
(Read *commonēuisti*?)

Cist. 540:—

Quot *admoeniui* fábricas, quot falláciās.
(Read *admōuēui*?)

Men. 853:—

Haūd male illanc *amoui*,¹ nūnc hunc īmpurīssimum.
(Read *admōuēui*?)

¹ After *amoui* Goetz and Schoell, in the Teubner edition, indicate a lacuna, of which, however, there does not seem to be any evidence in the MSS. Palmer suggested *hunc <hircum> īmpuris-*

simum, and Onions *hunc īmpuratis-simum*. But *amoui* can hardly be right, because it breaks the Dipody Law, while *admōuēui* does not.

Pseud. 133 :—

Exīte, agite éxite, ígnauf || male *habiti* et mále concfliatf.

(Read *habēti*?)

Again, whence come such forms as *monēris*, for *monueris*, if not from old forms, *monēueris*, and the like?

The perfects *cāui*, *fāui*, *fōui*, *mōui*, *uōui*, and *pāui* would arise thus: an original **cāuē-ulsti* would become successively **cauēuisti*, **cauouisti*, **cauuisti*, **cau-uīsti* and *cā-uīsti*, the *a* of the root being lengthened as a compensation for the loss of the *u* of the root before the *u* of the suffix: cf. *mō-mentum* from original **mōuēmentum*. Similarly *cautus*, *fōtus*,¹ etc. would arise from original forms **cauētus*, **fouētus*, through **cāuītus* and **fōuītus*.¹

Turning now to the *ā*-conjugation, we find thirteen verbs—*crepo*, *cubo*, *domo*, *frico*, *iuvo*, *lauo*, *mico*, *neco*, *plico*, *seco*, *sono*, *tono*, *ueto*—forming their perfect and supine after the model of *moneo*. All of these verbs have short root-syllables, and it is tempting at first sight to explain their deviation from the normal type by the B. B. Law. The difficulty is, however, that there is a large number of other verbs of the *ā*-conjugation which have short root-syllables but show no sign of similar irregularity in the perfect or supine stems—such common verbs as *rogo*, *amo*, *aro*. It may perhaps then be safer provisionally to explain such forms as *crepui*, *crepitum* as derived from an older *crepēre*, in spite of the fact that all these thirteen verbs have short root-syllables, and that most of them have by-forms which conform to the more usual type—*plicatus*, *intonatus*, *cubauī*, *necauī*, and so forth. In that case it would seem that we might reasonably attribute to the action of the B. B. Law the fact that the original *sonere*, *tonere*, etc., passed over to the *ā*-conjugation in the present stem only; for while that law would not have tended to check the change from **sonis*,

¹ For the origin of the form *fōtus*, cf. Stolz, *Lat. Gram.*,³ S. 175.

**sonunt*, etc., to *sonas*, *sonant*, it would have tended to check the change from *sonuisset* to *sonāuisset*.

Putting aside then the thirteen verbs like *crepo* as having perhaps been originally outside the *ā*-conjugation, it remains to consider verbs like *rogo*, *amo*, *puto*, which have short root-syllables, and always belonged to the *ā*-conjugation. They are all perfectly regular, and are all conjugated precisely as *laudo* is conjugated. Yet it would seem that a law which, by the hypothesis, was powerful enough to change an original **monēui* and **monētum* to *monui* and *monitum*, might have changed *rogaui* and *rogatum* to **rogui* and **rogitum*. It is well known that the inflexions of perfect stems formed by the suffix *-ui*, preceded by a long vowel (*-āui*, *-īui*, etc.), are found with syncopated forms—*amassem*, *peristi*, etc. In the *ā*-conjugation the effect of this syncope is that the accent invariably falls on the *ā* of the stem when syncope takes place: thus *amāulsti* becomes *amāsti*, *amāulsem* becomes *amdssem*, and so forth. We may reasonably suppose these shortened forms to have been the forms ordinarily used in conversation. They are certainly the forms from which the Romance inflexions are descended. Consequently the B. B. Law must have been entirely without influence on the perfect stem in the *ā*-conjugation. The perfect stem being thus protected, we must suppose analogy to have been strong enough to check any tendency to variation in the supine stem. The limits of this paper will not of course permit the exhaustive discussion of all the possible effects of the B. B. Law on the Latin verbs in general. Of that larger question I must reserve the discussion for my forthcoming *Plautine Studies*.

In conclusion, I sum up the changes which I have supposed the Breves Breviantes Law to have produced in the Latin conjugation-systems.

1. About twenty verbs of the *ī*-conjugation, all of them having short root-syllables and some dissyllabic inflexions,

were assimilated in many or most of the inflexions of the present stem to the so-called third conjugation.

2. In those verbs of the *ē*-conjugation which formed their perfect in *-ui*, the great majority of which verbs had short root-syllables, the original terminations of the perfect and supine, *-ēui*, *-ētum*, were changed to *-ui*, *-itum*.

Incidentally, if the view here proposed should be found to be correct, it would strongly confirm Professor Skutsch's contention that the Breves Breviantes Law had the power of shortening naturally long medial vowels. It at the same time suggests a reason, as I have tried to indicate, why the instances of such shortening seem to be comparatively infrequent, by showing that, in a large number of cases in which we may suppose such shortening to have occurred, the quantitative has been accompanied by qualitative change, and so has been obscured.

CHARLES EXON.

NOTE.—Not until these pages were already in print was the author's attention called to a recent communication by Professor Skutsch to the *Archiv für lat. Lexicographie und Gram.* xii. 2, S. 210 ff., in which that eminent scholar suggests an explanation of the Latin verbs in *-io* with infinitives in *-ere*, which is practically the same as that here offered. As, however, Professor Skutsch's paper is very short—containing, in fact, not much more than a suggestion—the present paper may, perhaps, be not quite superfluous.—C. E.

REVIEWS.

The Early Age of Greece. By WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, M.A., Disney
Professor of Archæology in the University of Cambridge, &c.
Vol. I. Cambridge: University Press, 1901.

IN this volume Professor Ridgeway has brought together, with expansions and additions, a number of lines of investigation which he had already placed repeatedly before several learned societies. We can, therefore, better appreciate the weight of the arguments he advances, now that the whole material is before us in connected form. The work is written with that directness of style and power of getting to the centre of things so peculiarly a gift of this author. Apart from the subject, it is interesting as a return to the wider method of scholarship, which tends to fall into disuse in the modern developments of specialism. In the investigation Ridgeway has undertaken, many and unexpected branches of knowledge are drawn upon. To the archæologist the work has another side of interest; it is a powerful justification of the campaign against Eastern origins, of which M. Solomon Reinach is one of the most brilliant leaders.

The first half of the volume is devoted to the restoration of the Pelasgians, the second to the inquiry "whence came the Achæans?" To venture to write about the Pelasgians is, as Ridgeway says, "to bring down on the writer grave suspicions that he is one of those who deal with Druids, and who see in the Great Pyramid the key to mystic systems of chronology and astrology." He supports his sanity by calling in aid the names of Niebuhr, Thirlwall, Grote, and E. Curtius. Niebuhr expresses the feelings with which he approaches this subject. "The name of this people, of whom the historical inquirer in the age of Augustus could find no trace among any then subsisting, and about whom so many opinions have been maintained with such confidence of late, is irksome to the historian, hating, as he does, that spurious philology which raises pretensions to knowledge concerning races so completely buried in silence, and is revolting, on account of the scandalous abuse that has been made of imaginary Pelasgic mysteries and lore."

This apologetic manner is, perhaps, still needed by the literary student of ancient history, but, for the scientific inquirer, it is not now necessary. Legends can no longer be dismissed as unimportant. Even when they appear to be baseless, they have to be accounted for. The ancient tradition of the Greeks, that before the Dorians and Achæans, the Pelasgians had been a great power in the Peloponnesus, challenges serious investigation. The problem is essentially an archæological one. It turns on the question, who were the makers of the Mycenæan civilization? Can that civilization be referred to a pre-Achæan race, who at the same time satisfy the geographical conditions of the legends? Hitherto inquiry has not sought to push behind the Achæans. Mycenæan civilization has generally been accepted as that of the Homeric poems. Few archæologists have ventured to leave the beaten path of the historical argument. Discrepancies were minimised or reasoned away. Yet though acceptance was largely gained, conviction was not reached: sceptics still advanced other claimants—Carians, Phœnicians, Hittites. The method was defective. Evidence was searched for resemblances of style, for connecting links; but until Ridgeway attacked the problem, the question of distribution had not been effectively handled. This he seized as the key to the problem.

His first chapter reviews the geographical distribution of Mycenæan civilization, with a brief summary of the more important remains from each locality. The points brought into relief are—(1) that the chief centre of Mycenæan art lay on the mainland of Greece, and from thence it extended its influence over the isles of Ægean, to the Troad and Phrygia, even to the northern coast of the Euxine, and south-east and south to Rhodes, Lycia, Cyprus, Crete, and Egypt, whilst towards the west its power was felt in central and southern Italy and Sicily. (2) This civilization was characterised by great skill in building fortress walls and gateways, palaces and tombs. (3) Mycenæan civilization is essentially Bronze Age. Bronze is the universal metal used for weapons. Iron only makes its appearance in a few late graves. Thus, in the graves of the lower town at Mycenæ, and in the tomb at Vaphio, the only places where iron has been found, it is only used for finger-rings; the weapons found at the same time are all of bronze. (4) The race who have left these remains did not practise cremation; the bodies were buried in a crouched posture. (5) The occupants of the sites had lately been in the Stone Age. Mycenæan civilization is developed from the Neolithic stage without break. The direct evidence for this statement is not as full as could be desired, but the progress of archæological investigation undoubtedly inclines to that direction. Ridgeway makes, however, a strong point on the continuity of the pottery, which, he holds, renders the old supposition untenable, that the Neolithic inhabitants were an earlier race,

subsequently expelled by the more civilized Mycenæans. The rude hand-made pottery of the Neolithic Age passes into the early wheel-made pottery, which preserves the same shapes and the same linear ornamentation. At Phylakopë, in Melos, there is a gradual upward movement from the earliest form of pottery to the fully-developed Mycenæan lustrous ware. In addition to continuity, a further important conclusion is founded on the pottery. The rude primitive pottery has affinities with, and its ornament is common to that of the Mediterranean area; also with the pottery of the Danubian region, northern Italy, and the Swiss lake dwellings. Thus the same primitive culture was spread over the whole of the Mediterranean and central Europe. But only in the Ægean did an artistic development take place. This is confirmed by the characteristic Mycenæan decoration, in which marine animals and plants are the favourite motives, clearly the product of a maritime folk. Within the Ægean area Ridgeway, therefore, concludes must be the *focus* or *foci* from whence the Mycenæan culture was diffused.

If we accept this conclusion, the next step in the inquiry is greatly simplified. One of the three Greek races—Pelasgians, Achæans, or Dorians—must have produced the Mycenæan civilization. The Dorians are easily displaced, and need not delay us. As already stated, scholars have been practically unanimous in attributing the Mycenæan remains to the Achæans; the Pelasgians were hardly considered to be within the discussion. This was natural. It is only within our own time that pre-historic Greece has been discovered. Until Schliemann uncovered Mycenæ, Greek archæology began at the eighth century B.C. When, as a result of his discoveries, it was necessary to take account of an elder time, the Achæans seemed to be the last safe ground to rest on—beyond Homer lay a trackless sea of myth. The efforts of criticism were, therefore, directed to reconciling the culture disclosed by Schliemann with that described by Homer. Since Schliemann's day, archæology has year by year extended the horizons of the early civilizations of Europe. Discrepancies can no longer be dismissed on general pleas of imperfect record or poetic imagination. The cloud-land of legend has been caught on the mountain-tops of history, and, in the continuity of European civilization from prehistoric times, we recognise the necessity of a pedigree of fact in legend.

The chief elements of the problem, as stated by Ridgeway, are:—We want a race (1) which can be shown by Greek history to have occupied from the earliest period the various localities in which Mycenæan remains have been found; (2) a race whose civilization, as set forth in the ancient writers, coincides with that unveiled at Mycenæ, or at least does not differ from it.

The Pelasgians fully answer the geographical test. The universal testimony of antiquity associates that race with the centres of

Mycenæan culture. Moreover, the pedigrees consistently support the traditions, the founders of the Mycenæan cities are by pedigree Pelasgian. The importance of the pedigree is again and again insisted on by Ridgeway. He adopts Niebuhr's opinion, that in the case of national pedigrees, such as the Mosaical, the genealogies deserve attention as presenting views concerning the affinities of nations which certainly were not inventions of the genealogers. Students of primitive institutions will readily accept this conclusion. Ridgeway illustrates the subject by what may be called a living example, the pedigree of the Uganda kings. Furthermore, as he pertinently points out, the archæological evidence of continuity—as for instance at Menidi, the ancient Acharnæ, in Attica, where the pottery found in the *dromos* of the tomb showed an unbroken series of Mycenæan, Dipylon, and Attic black and red figured ware—establishes a continuity of fact which cannot be ignored. But the argument is not dependent on Pelasgian traditions. The Achæan traditions are complementary; they pre-suppose the existence of an earlier race, known to the Greeks by the common name of Pelasgians. The Achæans are everywhere new-comers, driving out or marrying into the dynasties of the older race. From whichever side, therefore, we take it, the testimony of antiquity asserts a pre-Achæan race in the centres of Mycenæan civilization.

Now, when we turn to the Achæans, the traditions do not satisfy the geographical test. As Ridgeway puts it: "if we find Mycenæan remains in any area which the unanimous witness of antiquity declares was never occupied by the one race, but was occupied by the other, the latter race has the superior claim. If we find this taking place, not in one but in two or more areas, the claim becomes irresistible." In at least two areas, one of them of the first importance, this is so—Attica and the Troad. Herodotus and Thucydides are clear as to the Pelasgic origin of the Attic race. There is no hint of either Achæan or Dorian occupation. The continuity of the pottery at Menidi confirms this. The series found there proves that generation after generation annual offerings had been made at the tomb, and that there was no change in the surrounding population. The story of Xuthus, father of Achæus, which at first sight seems at variance with this tradition, as Ridgeway shows, really supports it. Xuthus, invited to aid the Athenians against their enemies, marries the daughter of the pre-Achæan royal house, but does not succeed to the throne. After the death of Erechtheus and succession of Cecrops, he goes to Aegialus, in Peloponnesus, where he settles and dies. His son, Achæus, as Pausanias recounts, supported by troops from Aegialus and Athens, returned to Thessaly and sat on the throne of his fathers.

The weak place in the positive side of the geographical argument is at present Arcadia. To the ancients Arcadia was pre-eminently Pelasgian country. Its inhabitants were regarded as

the least disturbed by foreign intrusion of any in Greece. But Arcadia has yielded few Mycenæan objects, none of which might not well be waifs. The absence of Mycenæan remains does not of course help the Achæans, but their presence would be almost conclusive testimony on behalf of the Pelasgians. It may be answered, however, that Arcadia has been little searched, and any day the evidence may be filled in, nor is Ridgeway to be beaten for want of weapons. Pausanias saw the grave of Aepytus, a mound of earth enclosed by a circular kerbing of stone. Now Aepytus is Pelasgian by pedigree, out and out. The form of the grave it is argued is non-Achæan. But a really strong point is made later on in the discussion of the Homeric shield. The Mycenæan shield is a long oblong shield with or without indented sides: the Achæan shield is round. The oblong shield survived to the second century with the Arcadians. Pausanias tells us that it was Philopoemen who first induced them and other members of the Achæan League to don breastplates and greaves (both of which are non-Mycenæan), and to discard their oblong shields and short javelins for the Argolic round shield and long spears. Thus there is evidence of the survival of the Mycenæan armature in Arcadia, confessedly the abode of the least disturbed population in Greece, and essentially Pelasgian. Space will not permit us to pursue further the geographical argument. Suffice to say that a *prima facie* case is made out for the Pelasgians and against the Achæans.

Now if the Mycenæan remains could be shown to be Achæan, that is, if they could be identified with the descriptions in the Homeric poems, the case for the Pelasgians would be left a legendary one. If that people ever existed their remains of their civilization would still be to seek. But if, on the contrary, it can be shown that the remains cannot be identified with the Homeric civilization, that the Mycenæan is older, and that between it and that described by Homer there are many and wide differences, then there is no escape from the conclusion that the Mycenæan remains must be ascribed to the older race, known to the Greeks as the Pelasgic. There is no other claimant in the field. Ridgeway attacks this position with his accustomed energy. It is not too much to say that he unmasks a whole battery of new theories. It has been accepted that the Homeric Greeks were still in the Bronze Age. This statement has passed widely into literature. Taking up at hazard de Jubainville's *La Civilisation des Celtes et celle de l'Épopée Homérique*, published so late as 1899, we read in the first chapter: "Le fer n'apparaît que par exception dans l'épopée homérique; elle appartient encore à la période du bronze."

Ridgeway attacks this assertion at the centre. The Mycenæan civilization is certainly Bronze Age. With the exception of a few late graves which yielded finger rings of iron, that metal is unknown.

But when we turn to Homer, we find iron in use for all kinds of cutting implements. Axes, double-headed and single-headed (prizes in the archery contest), the knife with which Achilles cut the throat of a hapless youth, the arrow with which Pandarus wounded Menelaus, maces with iron heads (vii. 141). Again in the *Odyssey* the weapons that hung on the walls of the *megaron* are collectively spoken of as iron. Indeed, Ridgeway argues that the Iron Age was so well advanced in Homeric times that iron was employed for plough fittings. Achilles declares that the winner of the mass of natural iron (σάλος αὐτοχόωνος) will be well supplied for the needs of his ploughman and shepherd, nor will they want to go to a town for several years to procure iron.

Are all these passages interpolations of a later period? A theory cannot be dropped when inconvenient; it must carry its consequences with it. If they are interpolations, Ridgeway fairly asks, how is it that there is no reference to the Dorian invasion, coined money, or the numerous Greek colonies that fringed the shores of Asia Minor, Italy, Sicily, and Libya. This seems to us a question very difficult to turn, but on the line of strict argument Jevons has shown (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiii. p. 25) that σίδηρος occurs proportionally as often in the so-called early as in the so-called later strata of the *Iliad*.

To appreciate the force of Ridgeway's argument on the question of iron it is necessary to clearly understand the meaning attached by archæologists to the terms Bronze Age and Iron Age. Cataclysmic archæology, which conceived of the Ages of Stone, Bronze and Iron as neatly divided off one from the other, has everywhere given way. Transition and overlapping are recognised on all sides. The statement that the Greeks of the Homeric Age were in the Iron Period does not mean that bronze was abandoned. For armour and many other purposes it continued to be used, and in this sense the Bronze Age is with us still. The distinction is the substitution of iron for bronze, *for cutting implements*. The statistical method, that is, the number of times copper or bronze (χαλκός) is mentioned compared with iron (σίδηρος), is, therefore, uncritical. Further, there is the well-known tendency to carry over familiar craft words regardless of changed materials, easily illustrated by modern examples. Railway carriages are still called coaches. The term χαλκεύς continued to designate the *blacksmith* throughout Greek literature. An interesting indirect confirmation of the use of iron in the Homeric Age is found by Ridgeway in the method of fence. The bronze sword is essentially a stabbing weapon. Bronze, owing to its brittle nature, is badly adapted for striking. It was only with the discovery of iron and its employment for sword blades that a cutting or sweeping blow was possible without fear of the blade snapping. The Mycænæan representations of sword fighting are consistent with

this; the thrust is used exclusively. But, as Helbig has shown, there are twenty-four instances of the cut as against eleven of the thrust in the Homeric Poems. Thus, Ridgeway argues, the preponderance of the cut over the thrust tallies with the general use of iron for all kinds of weapons and implements in the Homeric Age.

It is not possible in the space at our disposal to mention in detail the points of divergence Ridgeway finds (and in our opinion for the most part establishes) in regard to dress, the brooch, spears, helmet, breastplate, greaves, wheels, etc., between the Mycenæan remains and the Homeric descriptions. There is, moreover, the fundamental difference of burial customs, which we shall take up later. We pass to the most important—the shield. Representations of Mycenæan shields exist. These were of two kinds (1) a long shield extending from neck to feet of the form of a figure of 8, and (2) a rectangular oblong shield. The Homeric shield is, on the contrary, circular. Attempts have been made by Reichel and others to identify the Homeric shield with the figure of 8 shield of the Mycenæans, but none of such attempts are convincing. In fact the straining of language involved serves to emphasise the contradiction. There is no getting over the description “equal in every direction,” or a passage such as (referring to the shield of Achilles) *Iliad* xix. 374.

τοῦ δ' ἀπάνευθε σέλας γένοιτ' ἥντε μήνης.

The well-known Warrior vase and the painted stêlē, from the lower town of Mycenæ, show us warriors with round shields. Both are from the latest stratum of remains, and admittedly belong to the close of the Mycenæan period. Hitherto they have served as a slender bridge between Homer and Mycenæ. Ridgeway accepts them as Achæan, but for him they represent the local craftsmen working under their new masters. Thus they change sides in the argument. It may be pointed out that the shields on the warrior vase are not, strictly speaking, round. They are cut off at the bottom, somewhat after the Egyptian manner. Would Ridgeway consider this a local modification, perhaps an influence from the rectangular Mycenæan shield? The shields on the stêlē, on the other hand, are truly round. The round shield in Cyprus we touch on later.

The differences between the Mycenæan and Homeric culture having been shown to be wide in detail, and in some respects fundamental, Ridgeway proceeds to develop the question, “Whence came the Achæans?”

The literary tradition is first examined. This points to Epirus as the part of Greece in which the Achæans first settled, indicating a race movement from the north-west. Probability thus suggests that it was from the head of the Adriatic, and from the fair-haired communities of Central Europe that the fair-haired Achæans of

Homer made their way. Does archæology support this? In answering this question Ridgeway employs the method of areas with much effect. In a series of chapters on the Early Iron Age in Europe, the distribution of the Round Shield, Inhumation and Cremation, and the Brooch, he shows that a culture corresponding closely with that of the Homeric Achæans existed in upper Italy, the Danubian area (Hallstatt), Carniola, and at Glasinatz in Bosnia, that the civilization of the Homeric Poems is, in fact, the Early Iron culture of Central Europe.

The question of priority arises. Has the culture movement travelled upwards from Greece or downwards from Central Europe? On this head, the arguments drawn from the distribution of the round shield and the brooch are very strong. Both are characteristic of Central and Northern Europe from the later Bronze Age onwards. Whereas the brooch is unknown in Mycænæan times, and does not appear in the Aegean area till the Iron Period; the round shield is, moreover, excluded in the Eastern Mediterranean area by local types. When we add the evidence of the distribution of cremation, a convincing case is made out for a downward movement from the North.

The chapter on Inhumation, Cremation, and the Soul, is one of the most interesting in the volume. It cannot be said that the obscure questions of the origin of cremation, and of its appearance in Europe in the Bronze Age, are at all solved; but Ridgeway has grouped the evidence in a new and suggestive way, and has, we think, carried the investigation further than any previous writer. The problem is at least now clearly stated.

The Mycænæans did not practise cremation. It first appears on the Grecian horizon with the Achæans. It made its way slowly; it is not known in Attica, till about the sixth century B.C. Cremation never had an effective hold in the south of Greece. Herodotus states that the Libyan tribes bury their dead in the same fashion (inhumation) as the Hellenes, thus inhumation appears to have been the normal mode of burying among the Hellenes. It was late with the Romans. In Central Europe, on the contrary, cremation is fully established in the Bronze Age, say 1200 to 1500 B.C.: and the practice extended to the Baltic lands, and westward to Britain and Ireland. Did it enter Europe from the south or south-east? No; for cremation was not practised in Libya, Egypt, Phœnicia, Palestine, Asia Minor or Cyprus, save to a small extent under Greek influence in late times. The centre of gravity of the custom, if we may use the expression, is therefore thrown back on the Central European area. When we go beyond the Mediterranean area, inhumation is still the prevailing rite till we again meet cremation with the Hindus in India. (In Persia also cremation appears to have been practised in ancient times, but this is in the line of the argument.) It is suggested that there it is to be

accounted for as a jet from Europe. Thus the modern theory which regards Sanskrit as an offshoot from the European group of Aryan speech may find a powerful ally in the study of burial customs.

The practises of inhumation and cremation evidently indicate fundamental differences in the theological conception of the relation of the soul to the body. In inhumation the soul is believed to linger near the body, and its phantom life is fed by offerings. The burying of the body in fact anchors the soul to the tomb. In cremation the soul is released by the destruction of the body, and purification by fire. At one end you have embalming, the preservation of the body, to be ultimately re-tenanted by the soul, at the other the destruction of the body and setting free of the soul by fire, to pass at once to the abode of spirits. The familiar instances of Patroclus and Elpenor illustrate the latter belief.

If now it can be shown that the practice of cremation was not only common to the Achæans, and a large portion of the inhabitants of upper Europe, but that the latter held the same theory of the soul, the argument is complete. Here the evidence is necessarily drawn from late sources, the Gauls of Cæsar's time, and the Scandinavian Saga literature. It is the evidence of survival, but perhaps not the less valuable on that account. We have not space to set out details, it is sufficient to say that Ridgeway makes, we think, an effective case.¹

The placing of the focus of the Homeric civilization in the central European area, from whence the iron culture was carried into Greece with the Achæans, raises a problem of the greatest interest, viz. How came about the knowledge of iron in Europe? Here Ridgeway is simply revolutionary, as also on the origin of bronze in Europe, incidentally discussed in the same chapter. It has been commonly assumed that Europe is indebted for iron to either Africa or Asia. This is the present position of the question in archæology. Ridgeway argues that iron would first come into use, as in the case of copper, through the discovery of natural iron, that is, self-fused iron, meteoric or telluric. Probably the latter, as meteorites would be regarded as sacred stones, not to be put to base uses. Ross actually found the Eskimos using natural iron, which they beat out and mounted as knives; and since then considerable quantities of telluric iron have been found in Greenland. In Disco Island, it occurs in masses, sometimes upwards of twenty tons. It also occurs in Brazil. It might, it is urged, occur in any volcanic region where there happened to be an out-

¹ By the way, the instance of the cremation of Fiachra, the only case which has been found in ancient Irish literature, may be founded on a mis-translation. The passage, his 'Cluicher

Caintech was ignited,' may simply mean his funeral ceremonies were begun. The passage continues in the usual formula, "and his *Ogham* name was written."

crop of iron ore, as in Greenland. Such conditions are found in the Alps of Noricum, the Caucasus and other chains of mountains. But telluric iron has not been found at Noricum or anywhere in the old world. This, it is suggested, is to be accounted for by the fact that deposits of telluric iron, always rare, would have been eagerly sought for and worked out in an early stage of man's use of that metal. This is, however, negative reasoning and rather plausible than convincing. The art of smelting was well advanced in the Bronze Age, and it is not necessary to insist on telluric iron to account for the discovery of that metal. Ridgeway is on firmer ground when he discusses the first appearance of iron in Europe. Wherever iron implements are found in Europe, that metal comes in at a bound; there is no evidence of transition and development, except at one centre, Hallstatt, in Upper Austria. In the grave-goods of the great cemetery at Hallstatt the transition of the use of bronze to iron is clearly marked, the same types are found in both metals, iron is there competing with bronze. At Noreia, within forty miles of Hallstatt, were the most famous iron mines of the ancient world. Northwards there was another ancient iron mining district, in the country extending from Moravia to Bohemia. Thus the ancient centres of the iron industry were in the lands of the Celts, and hence we can understand their irresistible power. Ridgeway, therefore, fixes on the Hallstatt area as the focus from which the iron culture was diffused; there alone we get the required evidence of transition from bronze. There is no reason to believe that Greece was indebted to Egypt for iron. According to Professor Petrie there is no satisfactory evidence of the use of iron there till about 800 B.C. Some evidence for an earlier date is discussed and dismissed. Again, in Homeric times it is the Achæans and not the Phœnicians who are the holders of the iron supplies, so that it did not come from that side. Nor can it be referred to Asia Minor at so early a date. Ridgeway rightly lays stress on the discovery, lately made by Miss Boyd, while conducting excavations for the American School at Athens, of iron swords of the Hallstatt type at Kavusi and Bronta. The type of the Hallstatt sword is distinctive, and the filling in of evidence of this class would amount to a demonstration of Ridgeway's theory of the origin of the Achæans.

The question of date appears to be the one difficulty. Ridgeway cannot place the composition of the Homeric Poems later than 1000 B.C. The earlier phase of the Hallstatt period must therefore be put back to about 1200 B.C. Archæologists have not been disposed to accept so early a date. The inferior limit for the Hallstatt cemetery is admitted to be not later than 400 B.C., and about 800 B.C. is taken as a central date, the beginning of the period going back to possibly 1000 B.C. 1200 B.C. seems, therefore, a straining of the upper limit. At the same time we do not see at present a

way out of Ridgeway's conclusions, and it may be necessary to revise our dates for the early iron period in Europe.

The British Museum excavations in Cyprus at Enkomi and other sites, published last year by Mr. A. S. Murray and Mr. H. B. Walters, have brought to light a new series of Mycenæan objects, including bronze greaves and ivory carvings, one of warrior with conical helmet and round shield. Messrs. Murray and Walters bring these objects down to 700 B.C. This view represents a strange persistence of an older school of thought; it will hardly be accepted by archæologists of to-day. Mr. A. J. Evans ably maintains that the finds in question belong to the best period of Mycenæan art, and are contemporary with that period (1400-1300 B.C.) on the mainland of Greece. The round shield, he writes, "which in the Ægean area seems only to have come into use in the period of decadence that produced the 'Stêlé of the Warriors' found in the lower town of Mycenæ, had obtained an earlier vogue in Cyprus," indicating that "the East Mediterranean offshoots of 'Mycenæan' stock had early adopted the round shield in preference to the 8-shaped body-shield, which long maintained itself on the mainland and islands of Greece" (*Journal of the Anthropological Inst.*, 1900, p. 213).

Unfortunately the publication of the Cyprus excavations was too late for discussion in Ridgeway's work. But how are greaves, of the Glasinatz type, and the round shield, to be accounted for in Cyprus, at, say, 1300 B.C.? Do they represent an early wave of central European culture going eastward prior to the Achæan invasion of Greece? On this view the fragment of porcelain showing a portion of a figure with conical helmet and round shield, found in Grave III. at Mycenæ, would be explained as a waif. Supposing such a culture movement to have taken place, did it bring iron with it?

There is evidence for iron in Coele-Syria as early as 1300 B.C., as Ridgeway himself fully shows. He is inclined to trace the knowledge of iron, in that area, to a people arriving from the north, who would soon discover and work the iron ores of Lebanon. He inclines, in fact, to identify the Philistines with this movement, possibly descending from Asia Minor and reaching Palestine, as did the Gauls in after-time. They did not circumcise, and would not therefore be Hamitic or Semitic. The resemblance between the equipment of Goliath and the Homeric Achæans is, moreover, very striking. Evans considers that there is good evidence for the beginning of the iron period in Cyprus at about 1200 B.C. It would, therefore, in Ridgeway's view have come round in that way.

That the central European armature should have spread east in the Bronze Age is, at least, possible, but if the movement of iron is contemporary with it, and the knowledge of that metal in the

Syrian area to be traced to the same source, we are landed, at once, in difficulties of dates. The iron period of Hallstatt, it is clear, must be put back to something like 1400 B.C., a date that archæologists are not at present prepared to accept.

Though not strictly within the line of the argument we cannot pass from this chapter without a few words on Ridgeway's theory of the origin of bronze in Europe. It has been practically accepted that bronze made its way into Europe from the south-east.

On the contrary, Ridgeway reasons, bronze does not appear in Aegean before the full Mycenaean period. It does not appear to have been used in Egypt before the eighteenth dynasty. In historical times all the tin supply of the Aegean people came from Europe. It is improbable that bronze (an alloy of copper and tin) could have been discovered in any region except one in which copper and tin occurs side by side. These conditions are found in Cornwall, but also in the stanniferous region of Saxony, Bohemia, and Hungary. In this later region, therefore, he places the origin of the bronze of Europe, and the art of making bronze, he contends, passed south from Central Europe. He supports this contention by a strong point. The stages in the evolution of the flat bronze axe into the socketed celt (through the stopped palstave), so well represented in Central and Northern Europe, are absent in the Aegean. The poverty of bronze types in the southern region has indeed always been a difficulty in archæology, and this theory would offer a solution. Ridgeway's views on the origin of iron and of bronze in Europe are, however, so revolutionary that we must wait some time before we can feel that we have the true perspective of the questions involved.

The concluding chapter of the volume deals with the Homeric dialect. With Ridgeway's views on this question scholars are already in part familiar. He is led to conclude that the language and metre in which the poems were composed were those of the older race, who were conquered by the Achæans, and into whom the latter were absorbed, as the Anglo-Normans were absorbed into the body of the native Irish, adopting their customs and language. That the Achæans were a Celtic tribe who made their way into Greece, forerunners of the southward invasions of historical times, offers, moreover, an explanation for labialism in Greek, a phenomenon not hitherto explained.

'As the labialism which appears in Latin is due to the influence of tribes who had substituted *P* for original *K*, so also in Greece the sporadic tendency to labialism can only have been due to the direct influence of a people who had that phonetic peculiarity. But as all the Celto-Teutonic peoples of Upper Europe had that characteristic, we may conclude that the traces of labialism found in Greek are due to the influence of a people who had passed down from the head of the Adriatic into Greece, just as their Umbrian congeners had brought the same phenomenon down the Italian peninsula.'

We have not attempted in this notice to examine critically, in detail, the arguments of the work (it would require another book to do so), but have been content to set forth the main conclusions. We must refer the reader to the book itself for cumulative evidence, every part of which is important, and never uninteresting.

GEORGE COFFEY.

Platonis Opera: recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit JOANNES BURNET, in universitate Andreana Litterarum Graecarum Professor, Collegii Mertonensis olim Socius; tom. II. tetralogias III.-IV. continens. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano.

IN his second volume, the editor of the Clarendon Press Plato has (he tells us in his preface) followed the principles which guided him in producing the first. Further consideration has confirmed him in the opinion that all extant mss. exhibit one and the same recension, while traces of a second are discoverable in some ancient writers and in the Codex Vindobonensis (W). All mss. he holds to be referable to one archetype later than the sixth century—an opinion in which Alphonse Schaeffer agrees with him. Mr. Burnet has, in this second volume, endeavoured to satisfy the criticism of H. Diels, who thought that, in the former portion of his work, he somewhat neglected the ancient authorities for the Platonic text. He regards it, however, as certain that the mss. of Proclus, Olympiodorus, &c., have been interpolated from those of Plato, and on that account feels deeply “quam lubrica res sit eiusmodi testimonia adhibere.”

As before, the editor has been most painstaking in his endeavour to acquaint himself with all that has been done by preceding or contemporary scholars for the rectification of the text. In the notes he records, not only the various lections of the most important mss. (B and T), but even the suggestions appearing in recent classical editions and publications of various kinds. Mr. Burnet's footnotes are concise and satisfactory. They are fuller and, at the same time, more definite than those of the Zürich edition. While not occupying a large space, they contain whatever is of leading importance, and are sufficient for the purposes of the ordinary reader of Plato.

The editor's own contributions to the text (as indicated by his “scripsi”) are fairly numerous. They, as well as those he adopts from other critics, are, as a rule, serviceable both to the sense and to the grammar, and in sober conformity with objective evidence,

immediate or deductive. We may call attention to the following:—*Parmen.*: 129 D ταῦτόν, 139 A <ἀν> οἶσθαι, D αὐτὴ ὧν <τι>, 132 C ἀνάγκη ἥ [adopted from Waddell], 141 B εἴπερ μέλλει εἶναι οὗτον πρεσβύτερον γίγνηται [where BΓ give γίγνεται], 162 A and B, ἵνα τελείως αὐτὸ εἶναι ἥ μὴ οὐσίας δὲ τοῦ <μὴ> εἶναι μὴ ὄν τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν μὴ οὐσίας μὲν τοῦ μὴ εἶναι [μὴ] ὄν [where the changes, adopted from Shorey, greatly improve the text], 165 A πρὶν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ δόξειεν [from T, instead of δόξειν (B) with which Mr. Waddell first, and most justly, found fault]. *Philebus*: 12 E πῶς γὰρ ἡδονὴ γε ἡδονὴ [μὴ] οὐχ ὁμοιότατον ἂν εἴη [after Badham, the μὴ being really hopeless], 14 B τὴν τοίνυν διαφορότητα, ὦ Πρώταρχε [τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ] τοῦ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ σοῦ [after Mr. R. G. Bury], 21 B 1 μῶν μὴ δέοι' ἂν τι; [after Klitsch, for the μηδὲ ὄρᾶν of BΓ], 24 A ταῦτ' εἶναι ἄπερ νυνδὴ [ταῦτ' BT], ἀρ' οὖν ἴσως νῦν ἐπιτελεσάμεθα [ὡς BΓ om. vulg. where, however, the ἴσως seems out of place after ἀρ' οὖν. Qy. is ἀρ' οὖν ἴσως—; Greek? No instance of it occurs in Ast. *Lex. Plat.*, or in Bonitz, *Index Aristot.* The tendency of the dubitative to pass into the mildly affirmative or insinuating ἴσως seems to forbid such a collocation; but?], 28 A τούτῳ et mox ἴστων [τούτων ἴστω BT], 46 E εἰς τοῦναντίον πυρίαις μεταβάλλοντες [ἀπορίαις B T; πυρία is not found anywhere else in Plato, but occurs three times in Aristotle: the correction is certainly a clever one], 52 D τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ ἱταμόν [ικανόν BT]. *Sympos.*: 172 C ἐγὼ γε δὴ, ἔφη [ἐγὼ γε δὴ B T W: ἐγὼ γὰρ, ἔφη(ν) Athenaeus; ἐγὼγ', ἔφη, Badham. Mr. Burnet's ἐγὼ γε for ἐγὼγε seems to be mere surface-work, or something worse. Γε, whether in the combination γε δὴ (which seems inapposite to the sense here) or not, requires retroversion of the accent in an immediately preceding ἐγώ, hence universally ἐγὼγε (though not ἐμουγε). In Plato (in whom γε δὴ is frequent) we can find no other case of γε δὴ following ἐγώ. The genuine Aristotle does not use γε δὴ at all. It appears that while we may write either ἐμοῦ γε or ἐμουγε, we must not write ἐγὼ γε or ἐμοί γε, but ἐγὼγε, ἐμουγε always], 184 D δικαίως αὖ ὅτι οὖν ἂν <ὑπουργεῖν> ὑπουργῶν, *Alcib.* ii. 139 A ἔχεις σὺ γνώμην [ἔχει συγγνώμην B], *Eraslæ* 136 c ὑγείαν [without remark, though the form is questionable and Orelli, &c., read ὑγίειαν].

In *Alcib.* i. 133 C a passage of ten lines (om. BT) is added to the text from Eusebius; and several similar additions are made from Stobaeus, &c.

The text is printed with the customary accuracy of these volumes, but we have noticed, *Sympos.* 222 E, δὲ for σὲ; *Phaed.* 257 C ἀπεργάσω—a form impossible in Attic [given by Mr. B. without remark, where the Zürich edd. give ἀπείργάσω, so that we have probably to do with a printer's error]; *Alcib.* ii. 139 E εἶναι for εἶναι; 149 D τῆς for τῆς.

Thucydides, Book III. Edited by H. F. Fox, M.A.
(Clarendon Press.)

IN the Preface to his edition of *Thucydides, Book III.*—one of the latest additions to the elegant Clarendon Press Series of Greek educational works—Mr. Fox announces clearly the object he has kept in view; his book is designed for the use of schoolboys. With such a purpose to guide him, it is difficult to look upon the Introduction, though many of the criticisms we find in it are most interesting, as anything but a mistake. The average schoolboy, with all the difficulties of the author before him, can hardly be expected to appreciate general criticisms on the prose style of Thucydides, and pleas for the defence of the text against indiscriminate emendations; while the average schoolmaster would feel hesitation about accepting some of the views put forward. Perhaps the most disputable are these:—"Thucydides belongs to an artificial age, . . . when Greek prose was only beginning to discover the possibilities that lay within itself"; "The reader misses the intellectual satisfaction which he finds in the best prose of the Attic Age"; "Hitherto (*i.e.* before the time of our author) the few prose writers of whom we know anything had written as Nature bade them." As to the first of these, the examples of Antiphon and Xenophon (in his tract "On the Athenian Polity")—"must give us pause." Turning to the explanatory notes we find them invariably characterized by great clearness, an important feature in itself when we consider the object of the editor; the different views on important passages are sharply distinguished, and the reader does not feel himself plunging into a veritable slough of despond, but advances on firm ground. Some few of the notes might possibly be abbreviated with advantage, the editor's eclectic method occasionally leading him far afield; while a more liberal insertion of brief explanations of difficult words and phrases would be of great assistance. To quote some examples (and the list might easily be extended): ἐπιδείξιν (42. 3), τοὺς Ἀ. προθέντας, τὴν διαγνώμην (42. 1), ξυμβάλλεται ἐς τὸ ἐπαίρειν (45. 6), ὑπεξάνηγετο (74. 3), μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ ἀποβῆτε (53. 4), τῶν σωματῶν ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες (58. 3), πρύμναν κρούμενοι (78. 3), κακῶς προσπίπτοντες (78. 1) are all worthy of a few words of explanation if the book is to be of real assistance to schoolboys; the lexicon might provide the clues to all, but a constant and intelligent recourse to that treasure-house would render half the notes, in a book of this kind, valueless. Dealing with the commentary in greater detail, we find in it a lucid account of the many difficulties and contradictions contained in chap. 17 (the account of the Athenian forces and expenditure); the notes on the capture of Minoa are also well put, though the view which Mr. Fox adopts of the somewhat obscure phrase, ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας (51, § 3), ('projecting from Nisaiia') does not yield the

best sense; the other explanations (both of which are mentioned), "on the Nisaea side," or "on the side distant from Nisaea," are less difficult. The famous essay on the evils of Party Warfare in Greece is thoroughly explained, but "excessive refinement of ideas" would seem a happier rendering of *καινούσθαι τὰς διανοίας* (82, § 3), than "revolutionary spirit"; and *ἀσφαλείᾳ δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι* (§ 4) is most simply taken as subject to some verb like *ἐνομίσθη*, understood by zeugma from *προστέθη*, and by the general tenor of the whole passage. The text is excellent, and variations are noted if of any real importance; a few small points might, however, be added: in 11, § 2, a simple reading is that of Steup, *τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον*, striking out *δεός*; while in 92, *ἐν Τραχινίοις* (MSS. *Τραχινιαίς*), would be an improvement, for which compare *ἐν Βοιωτοῖς* (87, § 4); and in 12, Badham's *πιστὸν βεβαιοῖ* is an attractive reading; in 15, § 1, also, *παροῦσι* should be expunged as a gloss. Another point remains to be noticed; in 59, § 2, *μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν*—if it be not a gloss—is best taken with *ἄμωσαν*.

Generally speaking, a large stock of information, well phrased and clearly expressed, will be found in Mr. Fox's commentary, and—although the "*λόγος ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων φανείς*," which says, "Of making many books there is no end," would seem to overshadow a new edition of such an author as Thucydides—it will provide its readers with the means of unravelling the tangled Greek sentences which meet them at every turn.

Q. Horati Flacci Opera recognovit brevisque adnotatione critica instruxit EDWARDUS C. WICKHAM, Coll. Novi Soc. Hon. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano, MCMI.

THE Clarendon Press edition of Horace is a beautiful book (especially the copies printed on India paper), and the editor, Dean Wickham, is an excellent scholar, who has done really good work for Horace, especially for the Odes and Epodes. When he wrote his very tasteful and judicious commentary on that poet, who has always been the prime favourite of English scholars and men of letters, he conferred a very valuable boon on teachers and students of classics, and on the amateur of antiquity, who, having, perhaps, neglected his Horace in his school days, may wish to return to him when experience has given him a keener zest for the genial teaching of one who must always be the poet for the matured man of the world. Such an one will not be offended by the note of insincerity in the love-poems;

‘Then you know a boy is an ass,
Then you know the worth of a lass,
Once you have come to forty year.’

But he will feel the charm of the perfect diction and exquisite metrifcation of the Odes, and he will revel in the *mitis sapientia* of the Satires and Epistles. For these Dean Wickham's commentary, learned, tasteful, elegant, and keenly appreciative, has been and will be the most welcome boon. The editor did not trouble his readers much with questions of criticism, discussions which are always dull except for the professional scholar, and which are, fortunately, hardly ever thrust upon the reader of Horace.

But in giving the world the Oxford text of Horace the editor was bound to take these questions into his anxious consideration, and his able and beautifully written Latin *Praefatio* shows that he is fully alive to the obligation. His remarks on the sources of the text are highly instructive, and the *apparatus criticus* at the foot of each page is useful and judicious. It professes to refer only to places where there can be a serious question as to the right reading, where there is a discrepancy between really good authorities for the text. In these cases he always gives clearly and succinctly the evidence for both readings, and generally chooses the right one.

He has, however, missed the enviable opportunity afforded to him of purging the text of Horace of some ugly blots, with which the mistaken judgment of the great majority of editors has allowed it to be disfigured.

We will first adduce a case in which the editor prints without any sign of suspected spuriousness a reading which, rightly considered, is monstrous, and which is (we submit) against the weight of MS. authority. In C. iii. 4. 9, 10, he gives:

‘Me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo
Nutricis extra limen Apuliae.’

His note is ‘limen Apuliae *Vulg. Acr. Porph.*: limina Pulliae *BAAr, schol. γ, unde alii alia coniecerunt.*’ Now Acron and Porphyrio sometimes give their support to the manifestly wrong reading, e.g. *intermissa* for *impermisa* in C. iii. 6. 27, but here they cannot fairly be quoted for the reading as generally understood, because, though they seem to have read *Apuliae*, they interpret the word as being the name of Horace's nurse—*provinciae nomen posuit pro nutricis*—and they explain *fabulosae* rightly as describing a nurse, *quod hae fere alumnis suis narrare fabulas solent*. They understand the words to mean ‘the cottage of his nurse,’ but they call her *Apulia*, not *Pullia*. They explain the passage rightly, but they blunder in the proper name. Must they not, then, have had recourse to some MS. which supported the tradition of *BAAr*? Else they, surely, would have taken *Apuliae* in its natural sense as a district of Italy. Thus, four of the best MSS. have the right reading, *limina Pulliae*, which Acron and Porphyrio recognise as to the meaning, though not as to the form, while the rest represent the fastidious Horace as giving

to the first syllable of *Apulia* (usually *Appulia*) an unheard-of quantity. For in C. iii. 24. 4 the right reading is certainly *publicum*; and here again we must protest against the reading given by Dean Wickham.

‘Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum’

could hardly have been written by Horace. The *terrenum* of Lachmann is well-nigh proved by Porphyry's comment, ‘luxuriam . . . non terram tantum verum etiam maria occupantem.’ Then, *Apulicum* is not only unmetrical but unmeaning, for the Apulian coast was not built upon by Roman grandees. And, to make assurance double sure, *publicum* has much better ms. authority than *Apulicum*. Surely, if Horace had ventured to make the first syllable of *Apulia* long and short in successive verses, Martial would not have had to envy the Greeks—

‘Quibus est nihil negatum
Et quos **Apes* **Apes* decet sonare,’

when in a brother Latin poet he could point to as great a license.

In these two places the editor had the chance of removing ugly blots from the text of Horace, and we submit that he has left the blot and chosen the reading which, on his own principles, he was bound to reject, the better reading having as good, or better, ms. authority. But there are other cases in which a reading highly objectionable on grounds of taste, or even of grammar, has been set right by a very slight change of reading. Such are Lachmann's *terrenum* for *Tyrrhenum*, already mentioned, and Prof. Housman's *cautis* for *captis*, C. iv. 6. 17, accepted in the *Corpus Poëtarum Latinorum*. But the really *τομὴν πῆμα* in the poems of Horace is the place Sat. i. 3. 120, where *vereor ut* is supposed to mean ‘I fear you will.’ Now, here we have a solecism which imperatively calls for correction, unless the editor is resolved to admit no correction, however slight, of the mss. But such is not the method of our editor. It is true that here all the mss. agree in the solecism, but so do they all (as well as the Scholia) concur in reading in Epod. 4. 8, *cum bis ter ulnarum toga*. Yet there Dean Wickham, with all editors, reads *trium for ter*. Again, in Ep. ii. 2. 89, neither Dean Wickham, nor any other editor, has hesitated to read *ille* for *illi*, against the consent of all the mss. So also *Alyattei*, the certain conjecture of Faber, is given for *halialyti*, *haliattici*, *aliat thii* of the mss. in C. iii. 16. 41, and *Nireus*, *Nirea* (recognised, however, by Acron and Porphyry) for *Nereus*, *Nerea* in C. iii. 20. 15; Epod. 15. 22. Again, in Sat. ii. 6. 29, all the mss. but one of the latest give a syllable over the metre, and in Sat. ii. 3. 255 all agree in the false quantity and false form involved in *cubitale focalia*, while in Sat. i. 6. 102 the solecism of *rusve peregre aut* is supported not only

by all the mss., but by Porphyrio. In all these cases Dean Wickham, like all other editors, admits the received correction. Why, then, should he continue to present a solecism in Sat. i. 3, 120, where the grammar may be made perfectly normal by Prof. Housman's simple transposition (accepted by *Corp. Poet. Lat.*) of *ne* and *nam ut* at the beginning of two consecutive lines? For it is idle to quote Livy, xxviii. 22, 12, *nihil minus quam ut egredi moenibus auderent timeri poterat*. There the *ut* clause is not dependent on *timeri*, but is epexegetic of *illud* understood. This is a very common construction in Cicero, who uses the subjunctive with *ut* in exactly the same sense as the accusative and infinitive. Compare, for instance, *De Or.* i. 87 and ii. 337, where the two constructions are used in the same sense, *caput . . . esse oratoris . . . ut videretur*, and *caput esse . . . nosse remp.* In the Index to Tyrrell and Purser's Correspondence of Cicero, under *ut* several examples are given of this epexegetic or definitive use of the subjunctive with *ut*. The usage of *ut* for *ne* in this passage stands absolutely alone in Latin and unless mss. are infallible it must be wrong. But mss. are not always treated as infallible by the present editor. He ought, then, certainly to have seized this opportunity of purging the text of an inexcusable solecism.

Sometimes, but very rarely, we are left without sufficient information as to the source of the reading given. What, for instance, is the authority for *Haediliae* in C. i. 17. 9? The mss. give *haediliae*, *hediliae*, *ediliae*, *haedilia*, which last Acron explains as *saepta haedorum* (which would, of course, be *haediliä*), but none of them indicate that the word is a local designation, except B, whose gloss "*mons*," ought to have been quoted. Sometimes we are to understand that the mss. whose tradition is not recorded give the reading of the text. This is, doubtless, what we are to understand when a single variant is recorded, as in the note on *proiecerit*, A. P. 462, and many others. But when several variants are given, the authority for the reading preferred ought, perhaps, to be supplied. Again, in Sat. ii. 3. 255, *cubital* is a very obvious correction of the unmetrical *cubitale*. But we ought to have the authority for the correction. As a matter of fact, the right reading is ascribed by Cruquius (though with some hesitation) to V. In Sat. ii. 5. 36, *cassa* is rightly given, but it has hardly any ms. authority against *quassa*, and there is no note on the word.

Finally, we would say that, unless mss. are infallible, editors of Horace ought to adopt two elegant corrections of Bothe's, involving hardly any change of reading and immensely improving the construction. One is *qui tam* for *quidam*, in Sat. i. 1. 95—

'Ummidius quidam (non longa est fabula) dives,
Ut metiretur nummos; ita sordidus, ut se
Non umquam servo melius vestiret';

the other is *cursum* for *quorsum* in ii. 3. 201—

‘Rectum animi servas? quorsum?’

The latter correction certainly ought not to be rejected by an editor who gives (as Dean Wickham does) *cassa* for *quassa* in Sat. ii. 5. 36.

‘It is said,’ wrote Palmer, in his Preface to his edition of the Satires of Horace, ‘that if a person tells a lie often enough he will begin to believe it; it is not to be wondered that a false reading becomes a true one by familiarity. . . . What such objectors object to is not alteration of MSS.; it is alteration of their favourite edition.’

M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes, vol. vi., Pro Milone. Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro, Philippicae i-xiv: recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit ALBERTUS CURTIS CLARK, Collegii Reginae Socius. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano.

ANYONE who has used, or even seen, the large apparatus criticus in the Zürich edition of Cicero's Orations by Baiter and Halm, or the less extensive but still considerable apparatus in the Teubner edition by C. F. W. Müller, would naturally suppose that in the brief critical commentary which Mr. Clark has appended to his Oxford text we should find little beyond a judicious selection of readings taken from the works of the scholars above named. No greater mistake could be made. Mr. Clark's apparatus is no mere selection. It forms a distinct step in advance of all previous contributions to the Orations of which he treats; and if Fortune favours Mr. Clark so far that he is able to complete the whole six volumes of Cicero's Orations in the same masterly way in which he has begun them, it will be the honour of English scholarship to have raised the criticism of these works to a higher level, to have cleared away much that was superfluous, to have lucidly delimited the classes of MSS. in each speech or set of speeches, and to have applied as well sober and sound critical principles as true instinct for Ciceronian style to the emendation of passages where even the best MSS. and the most eminent scholars have failed to satisfy.

For Mr. Clark was by no means content to rest satisfied with the MSS. which he found already collated: “Nothing,” he says, in the *Classical Review* (xiv. 41), “makes criticism so sterile as the neglect of MS. evidence.” So he hunted here and there throughout the libraries of Europe, and has been amply rewarded for his labours. He has discovered many valuable codices which he has been able,

by patient study and high critical gifts, to estimate at their proper relative importance, and to fit into the several places which they should occupy in the complex of our authorities.

Thus in the *Caesarian Orations* he allows a place in the first rank to the Ambrosian (A) of the tenth century, the oldest ms. of these speeches which we possess : but as associates therewith he has discovered V, the Leyden Vossianus (Lat. O. 2), of the eleventh century, which is almost a replica of A; and H, the Harleianus 2682 (secundum exemplar),¹ and after a careful investigation he assigns the first place to H. It is on the basis of such passages as the following that Mr. Clark (*Cl. Rev.*, xiv. 254) dethrones A; *Marc.* 15 integrare] integrare H: integre AV. *Lig.* 38 forsitan postulet H: f. postulat, all other codices. *Deiot.* 30 in lucem evocavit] in luce me vocavit H: in luce vocavit AV. These three mss., HAV, belong to a single class (α), and that the best. Of mss. belonging to the second class (β) in addition to B and E already used by Baiter and Halm, Mr. Clark has studied the Oxford Dorvillianus 77 (D) and Harleianus 2716 (L), both of the eleventh century. The latter is of secondary importance, but the former is very interesting: it is the oldest form of β , and supplies the connecting link between BE and α . Thus *Deiot.* 21, perduint BD: perdunt HVE: perdent A will serve to show its affinity with B; while *Marc.* 8, victo α D: victoriam BE; *Lig.* 24 dubitem α D: non dubitem BE; *Deiot.* 16 tectior α D¹: rector D²BE *ib.* 23 audientes α D: obaud. h³: obediētes BE show how close it stands to α .

As to the class γ which contains the greater number of mss., it stands close to α , but is so full of interpolations (see e.g. *Marc.* 1, 8, 21, &c.) that it must be regarded as a class by itself.

Still more important perhaps are the services which Mr. Clark's investigations have rendered to the Philippics. Of course the Vaticanus (V) remains supreme. But as regards the class D it is no longer possible to hold that the four manuscripts of that class which Halm used, *abgt*, are its best representatives. Mr. Clark has examined several others which have a better claim for consideration. The Vossianus (Lat. O. 2) = π ,³ which we found to be so important for the *Caesarian Orations*, here again takes a prominent position, not only on account of its antiquity (cent. x.) which makes it the oldest of the D family, but also owing to the intrinsic value of its readings. To it is to be traced an Oxford ms. of New College of the twelfth century (ϕ), to which Mr. Clark previously attached great

¹ In this great codex, which is the Hitortianus or Coloniensis of Graevius, the *Caesarian Orations* occur twice. The second copy is the more important of the two.

² *I.e.*, Harl. 2682, exemplar primum.

³ The ms. consists of two parts, the

Philippics of the tenth century, and the Catilinarian and *Caesarian Orations* of the eleventh. The reasons which have induced Mr. Clark to call his ms. π in the Philippics and ν in the *Caesarian Orations* is stated in the *Classical Review*, xiv. 250-1.

importance, and rightly so, but which may now be discarded except from xiii. 29 to the end of xiv., where *n* fails us. Another ms. brought to light by Mr. Clark is the British Museum Regius 15 A xiv. (*l*) of the eleventh century; and as with it "*a* generally agrees, and is two centuries later, and where it differs generally has an inferior reading," *a* is to be discarded in favour of *l*. It is notorious that *g* is almost worthless: but *t* is a very good ms., perhaps the best of the D family, and to it great regard must be paid. It is akin to *l*, but the process of corruption in it has not gone so far as in *l*. The case of *b* is difficult, owing to the fact that the copyist was a fair scholar who tampered with the text. But the value of *b* can be tested by a most important class of mss., which Mr. Clark has discovered and calls *c*, a class which is akin to the Colotianus which is so often quoted by Ferrarius, and which he valued so highly. Two of these are at Paris, 5802 (*c*¹), 6602 (*c*²); one at Berlin, previously at Cheltenham (*c*³); one at Merton College (*c*⁴). The best of these is *c*⁴. They are the closest to V of any of the D family: and though they have only Phil. i.-iv., yet they show us that the good readings in *b* (which contains all the Philippics) generally represent an ancient tradition. So that the criticism of the Philippics as Mr. Clark has established it, is V and the D family: but the latter is to be represented no longer by Halm's *abgt*, but by *c* (in i.-iv.) *tnl*: and from xiii. 28 to end, *o* is to be used, and occasionally the celebrated Harl. 2682 which, however, in the Philippics, is a very imperfect guide.¹

Of the speech Pro Milone there is no need to speak. Mr. Clark's edition of that Oration (Oxford, 1895)—one of the best editions ever made of any of Cicero's speeches—and his discussions in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Classical Series, Part vii.) deservedly enjoy such a high reputation that it may be taken for granted that the text of the present volume is equally valuable.

Mr. Clark's treatment of the text is on the whole conservative. He is desirous where possible to retain the readings of the best manuscripts. Thus in Phil. xi. 32, he rightly defends *fortes, constantes, and sivist*, and rejects Madvig's supposition that there is a lacuna; xii. 9 he retains *omnis* (punctuating after *omnis*) and *iniuriam*, rejecting the generally-adopted proposal of Ferrarius to read *omnes . . . iniurias*. In xiii. 19 he adopts from *b* the idiomatic *tamen* in preference to *tum* of the other mss. In ii. 69 *suam* is not altered, cf. Fam. ix. 19. 1. But in passages which require more drastic treatment he does not hesitate to apply such treatment firmly and judiciously. Thus Phil. xiii. 47, "*Legatos venire non credo*," says Antony. *Bene me novit*, replies Cicero, *†bellum quod† veniant* (or *velim quo venias*), *proposito praesertim exemplo Dolabellae*. For the corrupt words Mr. Clark cleverly suggests *Reliqui veniant*, comparing §2 fin.

¹ *n* ends at xiii. 29: *l* at xiii. 46: and *t* at xiv. 25: V at xiii. 10.

where D gives *belli quorum* for *reliquorum* of V. A few lines further down, § 49, Mr. Clark excises *denique* which appears in the MSS. after *videret*. This may seem an easy proceeding; but it is really an exemplification of a principle which he has observed in the criticism of these speeches, viz., that there is a tendency on the part of the copyist to take words written in the margin of the archetype and insert them in the wrong place; many examples are adduced by Mr. Clark, in the *Classical Review*, xiv. 57, cf. also Phil. viii. 32, *captivi servi* where he ejects *servi*. In i. 35 Mr. Clark is undoubtedly right in reading *nec carus* (MSS. *clarus*, a most common variant) *nec iucundus* (so Weber for *unctus* of V). This collocation of *carus* and *iucundus* is common in Cicero, Verr. i. 112: Font. 47: Sest. 6. Also in iii. 26, *M. Gallius* (cf. xiii. 26) seems the right substitution for the corrupt *M. Antonius* (probably through *M. Allius*). In v. 39 *et misericordia* is a most attractive explanation of *Gr̄iā* of V, which seems to be a corruption of *et mīa* (= *misericordia*). viii. 20 *quasi* for *qui* (or *quod*) *si* is happy, though Müller's *quid*, *si* is also possible. xi. 38 *cuiquam* for *civis quisquam* gives the right sense, and is ably explained as having arisen from *quisquam* (cf. the variants *civi* and *cui* in ii. 23). xiii. 25 *iure deminutus* for *iure damnatus* is an admirable alteration. It is no ground of complaint that a man is 'justly' condemned. xiii. 33, *ui* is doubtless the correct elucidation of *ñ*: and in xiii. 35 *Quos iam* (for *quoniam*) . . . *depravaturi* (for *-ati*) is a simple and satisfying emendation. Just before, in order to explain the variants *offenderint* and *ostenderint* perhaps we should read *offensum ostenderint*: for *offensus* = 'odious,' cf. Sest. 125. Mr. Clark is very ready to receive with admiration good emendations from other scholars; thus his edition is improved by the adoption of such able suggestions as (xiii. 26) Dr. Reid's *dirutus aere* (cf. Verr. v. 33), and (xiii. 12) Pluggers' *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*.

It would be easy to mention many more admirable emendations; but enough has been adduced to show the high value of Mr. Clark's work in every department of criticism.

C. *Iuli Caesaris Commentariorum* pars prior qua continentur Libri vii de bello Gallico cum A. Hirti Supplemento et pars posterior qua continentur Libri iii de Bello Civili cum libris incertorum Auctorum de bello Alexandrino Africo Hispaniensi, recensuit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit RENATUS DU PONTËT e Collegio Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis apud Oxonienses. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano.

THIS edition of Cæsar's commentaries, with other books on the wars of Caesar generally included with the commentaries, is one of

the volumes now issuing from the Clarendon Press intended to represent the highest attainments of English classical criticism, and, as such, it is deserving of a hearty welcome.

In a short preface, the Editor states the principle which has guided him in his determination of the text. Where the codices vary he has given the preference, as a rule, to those which Nipperdey has placed in Class α , which he regards as usually pure, those of family β being largely interpolated. "Apud nos ita valuit Caroli Nipperdey auctoritas ut a codicibus familiae α nisi in apertis eorum mendis non discederemus, familia β supplementi loco uteremur, conjecturas criticorum nunquam reciperemus nisi in manifesto codicis errore ad plenum textus sensum restituendum aliquid effecisse viderentur."

Mr. Du Pontet does not profess to give a full apparatus criticus. "Si quis desiderat," he says, such may be found (for example) in Holder's edition. We fear, however, that the consequence of the extreme brevity which he affects will be that the professional scholar will have recourse to the more fully equipped German editions, while the "tiro," who is trying to gain some insight into the methods of textual criticism will get little help from the meagre adnotatio critica of this editor, who often gives the reader no hint of the principle by which he has been guided in his preference for one reading over another; for there are many particular cases to which the general principle which he has laid down at the outset will not apply. Scholars will look in vain for anything specially worthy of note in this edition, for any fresh light thrown upon textual difficulties. As to conjectural emendations, almost none have been hazarded by the editor, and very few, no matter how plausible, by other editors, have been accepted. It is true that a writer like Caesar gives little scope for such. His style was too terse to admit of much mistake as to his meaning, even on the part of the most stupid and careless of transcribers. Hence Mr. Du Pontet's object has been simply "servare codicum memoriam."

But the editor has, especially in the Pars Posterior of his edition, carried, we think, this conservative principle to unreasonable lengths. In the De Bello Gallico he has, in only two cases, we believe, suggested an emendation or admitted one of his own into his text. In v. 42, 5, for in circuitum munitionem, he reads in circuitu iii, and in vi. 22, 2, he has suggested *quicumque* coierunt for quicum una coierunt.

We have only space to mention a few passages in which we think Mr. Du Pontet has clung too obstinately to the codices, and we take these examples from the Pars Posterior as the Commentaries proper have been sufficiently reviewed elsewhere.

In Book iii. 10, 10, De Bell. Civ., he reads omnis suas terrestres urbiumque copias, but obelises *urbiumque*. We believe this to be a "manifestus codicum error," and that *naviumque*, the emendation

of Nipperdey, is right. The context here shows that Caesar was contrasting *land and sea forces*, and nothing else; cp. c. 17, 3, "Quod ad indutias pertineret, sic belli rationem esse divisam, ut illi classe *navis auxiliaque sua* impedirent, ipse ut aqua terraque eos prohiberet." Here "*navis auxiliaque sua*" almost exactly = *omnis sua terrestres naviumque copias*, assuming that *navium* is right. The confusion between "b" and "v" has led to many errors of transcription in Caesar.

In iii. 18, 3, De Bell. Civ., we believe that the plain sense of the context demands the very slight alteration of *reversus est* to Elberling's correction *e re visum est*, which many edd. have adopted. There is no question in the context of Vibullius' *returning* to Caesar by whom he had been sent to negotiate with Pompey, and therefore *reversus est* is meaningless.

In iii. 47. 6, we believe that the position of the first *non* in "*Non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recusabant*," is an impossible one. *Non* and *cum* were, in our opinion, transposed by a transcriber's error. The words contrasted and emphasised are *hordeum* and *legumina*. Read "*Cum illis hordeum non daretur, non legumina recusabant*." Mr. T. Rice Holmes, perhaps the most learned Caesarian scholar in the kingdom, in the *Classical Review* for April, 1901, shows that a similar false emphasis is given to the word *non* in De Bell. Gall. v. 29. 7, "*in quo si praesens periculum non, at certe longinqua obsidione fames esset timenda*," the proper place of *non* being before *praesens*, and the emphasis falling, not on *non*, but on *praesens*.

We may remark, in passing, that Mr. Rice Holmes seems to have fallen into an oversight in saying that Mr. Du Pontet was *alone* in reading in De Bell. Gall. v. 11. 4, "*Labieno scribit ut quam plurimas*" *posset* instead of *possit*, as *posset* is read by Holder, Dinter, and, among English edd., by Long, Moberly, and Bond and Walpole.

In iii. 48, we believe that *a valeribus* of the codd., obelised by the editor, is corrupted from *ab oleribus*, by the common confusion of "b" and "v." (Madvig, Adv. Crit. ii. 276, after Em. Hoffmann, suggests *vivebant oleribus*, and adds "Substantivum, in quod etiam Hoffmannus incidit, prorsus certum est.") Cf. Madvig's correction (accepted by Mr. Du Pontet) in De Bell. Gall. vii. 14. 5, of *ab via* from *aboia*. The next passage to which we shall refer as typical of Mr. Du Pontet's iron-bound criticism is in De Bell. Alexand. c. 43, "*ductu ausuque suo gesserat*." If the word *ausu* here is not to be changed into *auspicio*, the obvious correction of Lipsius from *ausio* of T, it seems to us that in no case can an editor admit a conjectural emendation. *Ductu auspicioque* is the regular Livian phrase; and *ausu* was probably an unconscious assimilation to the previous *ductu*, the vestiges of the original *auspicio* being plainly visible in the *ausio* of T. If authority could be cited for the phrase *ductu ausuque suo* the case would, of course, stand differently.

In De Bello. Hisp. 2. 1, we believe that Hoffmann's *ante iter* or Mommsen's *iter ante* should have been placed in the text instead of the obelised "*iterante*."

On the whole, in spite of its merits in some respects, we cannot think that this edition exhibits an advance in Caesarian criticism. No doubt, if an editor must err, it is better to err on the side of caution than of temerity; but we believe that there is a golden mean which it is the merit of the best critics to attain, and we fear that Mr. Du Pontet has failed to hit it.

Still we gladly acknowledge that the editor has performed his laborious task with the most diligent and conscientious care. We have read the text and notes from beginning to end, and have not observed a single erratum or misprint.

P. Vergili Maronis Opera recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit FREDERICUS ARTURUS HIRTZEL Collegii Aenei Nasi Socius. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano.

THE many who have reviewed the books already published in the Oxford Library of Classical Authors have seldom omitted to praise the beautiful paper and printing, so worthy of the Clarendon Press and so pleasant to the eye of the reader. The volume now receiving this brief notice adds to these external attractions peculiarly great intrinsic value, inasmuch as it contains Virgil's major and undisputed poems, viz., the Eclogues, the Georgics, and the Aeneid; while by the Editor's work honour is done both to the University of Oxford and to the poetry of Virgil. This notice will content itself with giving some account of Mr. Hirtzel's exceedingly neat Latin Prefatio. and then proceeding to make some remarks on readings here and there contained in his critical footnotes.

The first paragraph of the Preface reminds the reader of the wonderful excellence of our traditional text, but points out the Nemesis which soon overtakes a popular author, while men quote his works from memory and school-boys handle them as lesson-books. In Virgil's case, too, there was somewhat more room for liberties being taken with what he himself wrote, because he did not live to add the finishing touches to his work, and they had to be made by less delicate hands. The result of all was that, shortly after his death, copies were in circulation interspersed with various readings, corrections, conjectures, and glosses of every kind. In a footnote, Mr. Hirtzel arranges, under headings, examples of errors occurring in all the best codices, whence may be inferred the condition of the archetype. Here may be set down a single instance under each of these headings—(a) one word is substituted for another, *e.g.*,

Georg. i. 226, *aristis* in some MSS. for *avenis*; (b) the metre is corrected, e.g., Ecl. viii. 11, *desinet* for *desinam* (before a vowel); (c) something considered unusual is altered, e.g. Georg. ii. 247, *amaro* for *amaror*, in *ora Tristia temptantum sensu torquebit amaror*; (d) cases pointing to a v. l. even in the archetype, e.g. Aen. vi. 559, *strepitum . . . hausit* and *strepitu . . . haesit*, in which example the codex Romanus (to neglect, for the sake of clearness, the mention of the other codices) has a bit of each reading, viz. *strepitum . . . haesit*. On these typical examples of variation in the text of Virgil an obvious reflection is, how very slightly they mar the pleasure of the reader; though, indeed, serious mistakes are not wanting, still grammar and sense, and even poetic appropriateness, are satisfied by the majority of the variations, and hardly a single passage from beginning to end of Virgil requires to be obelised as desperate. The nearly balanced claims of rival readings, however, leave room to an Editor for much exercise of taste and critical judgment. Perhaps his task is a little less delicate when whole lines are obnoxious enough for brackets.

Mr. Hirtzel next enumerates the greater MSS. Of these the Palatine and the Medicean rank first. He takes sides with Ribbeck against Nettleship in giving precedence to the Palatine, though he does not bow to its authority quite so much as Ribbeck. Still he thinks it does surpass the Medicean a little. Where M and P leave one in suspense a far later manuscript, the codex Gudianus (ninth century), is not unworthy to be called in to decide the strife. The codex Romanus, though very far inferior, has, nevertheless, sometimes preserved the true reading: e.g., in Georg. ii. 382

praemiaque *ingeniis* pagos et compita circum
Thesidae posuere,

we owe *ingeniis* to R, and Mr. Hirtzel prefers it to *ingentis*, the reading of Med., Pal., and Gud., and to *in gentes* the conjecture of Ribbeck. As regards the much disputed age of R, a footnote informs us, L. Traube has recently shown on palæographic grounds that it was not written before the sixth century.

Like all the volumes of its series this edition may be described as, in one word, conservative. Where Henry, Conington, Ribbeck, Kvičala, Deuticke, and others, have all but feared to tread, the editor expresses his reluctance to rush into emendation very modestly thus: 'satis mihi fuit si horum umeris gigantum quasi nanus insidens tantum quantum illi dispexerint ipse dispicere valerem.'

In the critical footnotes the handy method is adopted of indicating at once the uncial MSS. responsible for the text on each page. To open a page in Aen. iv., the footnote begins thus: 448-478. FMP, and, to take on that page the line—

multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum,

the critical note is: 464 *piorum M agnoscit Serv. probat Ribbeck*. From this we take in at a glance that the authority for 'priorum' in the text is F and P. Similarly at Aen. xi. 728, a glance shows that R is the authority for *inicit* against *incitat*.

At the end of the fourth Eclogue the editor forsakes the codices for Quintilian, to read

qui non risere parenti
nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

The preface had given the reading of the MSS. (*cui non risere parentes*) as an instance of faulty emendation early prompted by something unusual in the syntax. It is a slight omission on the part of the editor not to mention that *parenti*, read in Quintilian, is a conjecture made by Bonnell,¹ 'nisi forte vis Quintilianum h. l. insanisse.'

In Ecl. vii. 25

Pastores, hedera *crescentem* ornate poetam,

crescentem with v. l. *nascentem* is a good illustration of a remark already made, how slightly variations in many cases interfere with the pleasure of the reader. It is small wonder that in such cases good MSS. and good editors are not agreed. In the same Eclogue, l. 54, he reads

strata iacent passim sua quaeque sub arbore poma,

and rejects *quaque*, the conjecture of Bentley, found also in two cursives: for the reading retained, cp, Lucr. ii. 372. In Georg. i. 141-2,

atque alius latum funda iam verberat amnem
alta petens, pelagoque alius trahit umida lina,

he punctuates so as to give *alta petens* to what goes before, while in the critical note he gives the conjecture of Hanow, *alta petens alius pelago*. In Georg. i. 208, he reads

Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas,

while in the critical note is recorded *dies*, which, we are told in Gellius, stood in a copy reputed to be Virgil's own. In Aen. i. 636 he reads

munera laetitiamque dii

where *dii* (= diei) also rests on the authority of Gellius. At the beginning of the Aeneid the four lines wanting the authority of all important MSS., the editor vindicates as Virgil's. They waken the

¹ For this statement our authority is the addition of Conington and Nettleship revised by Mr. Haverfield, p. 63, where also the difficulties of the passage are discussed and the reading of the

MSS. is retained, the *cui*, however, being explained not as governed by *risere* but as equivalent to the genitive taken with *parentes*.

literary memories of the opening of 'Paradise Regained,' and of the 'Faerie Queene.' In Aen. i. 395-6

nunc terras ordine longo
aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur,

Mr. Hirtzel happily does not furnish (even in the notes) the dozen swans with Ribbeck's patent 'capsos.' In Aen. ii. 422,

primi clipeos mentitaque tela
agnoscunt,

the note is "primi *sed litera inter i et m erasa P: unde Priami Ribbeck.*" In Aen. iii. 464 the usual license is taken to read

dona dehinc auro gravia sectoque elephanto,

though two ways of obviating it are mentioned in the note:—(1) *gravia a sectoque Lachmann*; and (2) *gravia ac secto Schaper*. At the well-known *crux*, Aen. iv. 435-6,

extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis),
quam mihi cum dederit cumulatam morte remittam,

he does not mention either *cumulata sorte*, 'with accumulated interest,' or Ribbeck's *cumulatam monte*. Doubtless the former is more like business than poetry, while the latter, to one in some moods, appears grotesque; Enceladus under Aetna was *cumulatus monte*. In Aen. iv. 469,

Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus,

we miss in Mr. Hirtzel's notes the ingenious way out of a difficulty found in 'Euiadum,' the emendation of Mr. Allen. In Aen. vi. 664,

utique sui memores alios fecere merendo,

doubtless Mr. Hirtzel rightly prefers *alios* to *aliquos*, though for *alios* there is, besides the testimony of Donatus and Macrobius, very scant MS. authority. In Aen. vi. 724, *terram* perhaps leaves the line less sibilant than *terras* would. In the last two lines of Book vi. the repetition of *litore* is thought to be suspicious: to avoid it, some commentators, from later MSS., adopt *limite*; others cut off the last line as transferred from Aen. iii. 277. But the repetition may be intentional; compare the repetition of "land" in lines 1 and 3 of Tennyson's "Lotus Eaters." Novel punctuations are adopted in Aen. viii. 532-3. In Aen. viii. 610, where the other reading is *et gelido*, he gives

ut procul *egelido* secretum flumine vidit,

a reading not quite acceptable, as *egelido* has neither the better MS. support nor the appropriate meaning. Its classical meaning is

'with the chill off,' 'tepid,' whereas Virgil has already called this river *gelidum*. In Aen. ix. 402-3,

ocius adducto torquens hastile lacerto
suspiciens altam Lunam sic voce precatur,

we have one participle too many, and, if we read the usual *et* after *Lunam*, one finite verb too few. The reading in the text does not sound very well. Deuticke's proposal,

suspicit, en! altam lunam et sic voce precatur,

may remind one what a handy expletive *en!* at times proves itself in the exigencies of Latin verse composition. Perhaps Wagner's *torquet*, in spite of its final syllable, is best. In Aen. xi. 487,

iamque adeo *rutilum* thoraca indutus aenis
horrebat squamis,

rutulum is an example of 'corruptio ex rei materia,' the context is about the Rutulian Turnus: cp. in Lucr. ii. 42, *Epicuri* where Munro's reading is *et ecum vi*. In Aen. xi. 854 Mr. Hirtzel reads,

ut vidit *fulgentem armis* ac vana tumentem,

with Ribbeck, and against Conington and the better ms. authority (for *laetantem animis*): yet another illustration of the remark how slightly in many cases the variations jolt the career of the reader.

This review may end as it began, with hearty and well-deserved praise of Mr. Hirtzel's work. The edition is remarkably well-proportioned, giving never too much and seldom too little. Perhaps enough has been said to indicate that Mr. Hirtzel's method, taste, and judgment, are alike admirable.

Livy—Book II. Edited by PROFESSOR R. S. CONWAY, of University College, Cardiff. (Pitt Press Series, 1901.)

THIS work will be welcomed by all scholars. It treats of a most fascinating period of Roman History, when the world was young, and the Gods even still appeared in person to direct the fortunes of the Republic. The stories of Horatius, of Scaevola and Cloelia, of Coriolanus, of the Fabii, are here set forth in Livy's picturesque prose which sounds like the roll of a great Epic. Legends such as these appeal more strongly to the youthful mind than the stricter

narrative of Livy's later books: and it is a matter for regret that, whereas some of the latter have been edited most capably again and again, the earlier books have been comparatively neglected. Fortunately, so far as the Second Book is concerned, we need no longer complain. Professor Conway has given us in the present work a scholarly interpretation of the text, with excellent notes on the Constitutional History of the period. He tells us, in the introduction, that he has endeavoured to meet the needs of those who are familiar only with a book or two of Caesar or Vergil, as well as of University students who have already made acquaintance with Livy. Such a twofold task it is almost impossible to achieve, and while we believe the needs of the latter students have been well provided for, we are inclined to think the book is somewhat advanced for the former. It contains an excellent introduction; each chapter of the text is preceded by a brief summary of its contents; the difficulties are tersely explained; and there is a discussion on all important variants. These points alone are sufficient to recommend the edition. But there are, besides, Indices of words dealt with in the notes, and of proper names; and maps of the city and of that portion of Italy, referred to in the Book which are invaluable to the student. Above all, there is an appendix on the variation of sequence in *Oratio Obliqua* which the Editor has treated in a novel and masterly fashion. The present reviewer has taken some trouble in applying the rules therein laid down to most of the speeches in the first decade and has found them hold good in practically every case. All the more difficult points of syntax are explained: but here we should wish that the notes had been fuller. At times the Editor alludes to, without giving, a rule of syntax: occasionally he refers to grammars which all students may not possess, and where a few words would have rendered the reference unnecessary. And if grammars must be referred to, why not to Roby's or Kennedy's, either of which nearly every schoolboy has, and which are equal to all syntactical difficulties in Livy's second Book? Examples of what we mean, are the notes on *a quo impetres* 3.3, *timerem* 7.9, *cum vidissent* 27.8, where the explanation is insufficient and the terminology and the grammar unfamiliar.

For example, on *a quo impetres*, we find the following:—"Note that *impetres* would have been subjunctive, even in *oratio recta*, after the *ubi*, 'a relative of essential definition' (cf. N.L.P. 400c.)." *Ubi* is evidently a misprint for *a quo*, and a few words calling attention to the use of the second person singular in general sentences, and its being usually accompanied by the subjunctive, would have been more instructive for the student. On *timerem*, 7. 9., the note, "Unreal deliberative question in past time, 'the subjunctive of imagination,' N.L.P., § 383," is far too brief and unsatisfactory for a really difficult use of the subjunctive. On *cum vidissent*, 27. 8, an opportunity is lost of giving expressly the rules

for indefinite frequency in present and past time, and Livy's departures therefrom.

Again, it doubtless adds to the value of an edition to have the opinions of such an eminent scholar as Professor J. S. Reid incorporated with it. When, then, his view seems by comparison clearly the correct one, it would have been more satisfactory to have altered the original note and given his alone, e.g.:—In 58. 7, the editor's statement is directly contradicted by Professor Reid; in 47. 12 *reipublicae ars* = *reipublicae gerendae ars* seems very strained, and few will differ from Reid that *reipublicae* must be dative after *salubri*; in 4. 5. Reid's *exaudire*, 'to catch a distant sound,' is a closer parallel to *excepit*, 'overheard,' than the editor's *efferre sermonem*, 'to publish a private remark.'

The old system of printing the periocha at the beginning of the book seems more natural than doing so at the end of the text as in the present edition; perhaps, too, a little more translation, especially of the difficult passages, would have helped the beginner—of such a passage, for example, as 5. 3. 4. But, after all, these are but slight blemishes—if they are such—in an edition ably edited and invaluable to the university student, and to the schoolmaster who has to teach a senior class. The emendations call for little comment. They are generally judiciously chosen, as, for instance, Gronovius's *omne sumptum* for the MSS. *omni sumptu* in 9. 6; Madvig's *foeda . . . passi* for the MSS. *foede . . . passim* in 17. 6, and his equally brilliant conjecture in 49. 4, *sperneres, egregius* for the MSS. *sperneret egregius*. There are just a few, however, which seem needless, as, for example, the insertion of *indidem* in 6. 2, where the *se ortum* of MSS. seems plain, and the use of *se* can be defended; the change of *in proxima* to *in proximo*, 33. 7, where Madvig proposed to place the words after *irrupit*, but where the idea of motion in the passage justifies the accusative without any alteration. In 36. 3 *timorem* is omitted, and *vicit* translated, 'was the deciding motive,' i.e. in keeping him silent. The MSS. reading is preferable—"His awe of the magisterial dignity overcame his fear (of the divine wrath), and (made him hesitate) lest," etc. The idea of hesitation is expressed immediately, "*Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit*," and the *ne* sentence need not be taken closely with *timorem*.

In 5. 4. may not the dative of the Gerundive follow [*area*] *esset*, and thus the difficulty of construing *firma* with it be avoided, "that so lofty and strong a site might serve for," etc., on the analogy of *Decemvir sacris faciendis*?

Livy, Book XXI.—Edited with introduction and notes by F. E. A. TRAYES, M.A. (London: George Bell & Sons).

WHEN we open an edition of Livy, and find for frontispiece a reproduction of a 'Turner,' we are led to expect something out of the common. And so in some respects we are not disappointed with the volume before us; but in other respects we should wish for something better. We fear that, with the exception of the general get-up—which is irreproachable—there is nothing in this edition very original, or deserving of very high praise. There are three excellent and very clear maps, one of Spain, one of Italy, and one of Hannibal's route. The pictures illustrating the text are good and suggestive: they are life-like too, and not the usual wooden style of thing that one sees in Classical books. They are evidently drawn by someone who knows what to draw and how to draw it. In addition there are many beautiful photographs of such places as Cadiz, Cremona, Genoa, Marseilles, and Malta. With all this we are in entire accord. The more attractive to the general—perhaps we should say "school-boy"—reader the classics are made, the better. The Introduction is well written and clear; but it is rather surprising to find practically no notice whatever of him who is admitted to have been the greatest general the world has ever known. Any edition of the twenty-first book of Livy ought surely to have some sketch of Hannibal.

The explanatory notes are clear and unpretentious. The critical notes are few, which is an advantage; for after all, what is the use of wearying the school-boy with numbers of conjectural emendations to which he will never pay any heed? But we think it would be advantageous to have the Critical Notes, few as they are, separated from the Commentary.

Appendix I. deals with the vexed question of Hannibal's journey over the Alps. Mr. Trayes decides for the Mont Genève route, which he shows must be accepted, if we believe Livy at all; and which at the same time is quite compatible with Polybius's account. Mr. Trayes also draws our attention to the interesting remark of Napoleon, that Hannibal did *not* cross the Little St. Bernard, "parce que le texte de Polybe et de Tite-Live est positif, parce qu'il n'a pas dû le faire." Appendix II. deals with the site of the battle of the Trebia; while Appendix III. is a lucid account of the Roman army by Mr. A. C. Liddell.

Besides all this, there are a list of idioms arranged according to chapters, a grammatical index, and a historical and geographical index. Indeed the chief fault to be found with the book is that in it far too much help is given to the student. If this sort of thing is to go on when can he be expected '*sine cortice nare*'? The mental discipline of the Classics seems a vanishing idea nowadays.

The list of idioms is the worst feature of the volume. Knowledge of this kind, to be of any practical value, should be acquired by the student, using his own judgment.

It cannot be too much deplored that the old practice of reading the Classics as literature seems to be fast dying out, and is being replaced by the notion that, for those who can most easily make up and remember 'tips,' Greek and Latin offer an unrivalled field for gaining whatever advantages mere examinations can bestow. To those who look no further than passing an examination, Mr. Traves' book may be unhesitatingly recommended; but we hope that such a capable scholar will soon give us a work which may be used for a higher aim.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Volume XI., 1900.

THIS volume of the Harvard Studies maintains the high reputation which previous volumes have obtained for careful and earnest investigation. The discussions are minute and elaborated with the greatest detail; and in their method and style for the most part resemble German theses for Degrees. Far the most interesting paper, in our opinion, is that by Mr. Edmund von Mach on an Etruscan mirror now at Boston. It represents the death of Ajax according to the Æschylean treatment in the *Thracian Women*. The legend there followed was that Ajax was vulnerable only under the armpit, and that he vainly attempted to slay himself until a goddess showed him where the mortal spot lay (see Scholiast on Soph. *Ajax*, 883, quoted by Nauck, *Fragm. Æschyli*, 83, p. 27). The mirror (of which an engraving is given) represents the goddess (named ΜΕΝΑΡΡΑ) pointing out to a bearded man (named ΕΙΡΑΣ ΤΕΛΜΥΝΟΣ), against whose side a sword is bending, the point where the arm joins the body. The kindly look of the goddess and the agony of the hero are well represented. This mirror settles who the παρῴσα δαίμων τις is, and so demolishes Wecklein's restoration παρὼν τις δαιμόνων. We do not feel quite sure that Mr. von Mach is right in ejecting τις on the ground that there was no doubt as to who the goddess was. The messenger (to whom probably the lines imbedded in the Scholiast are to be attributed) may have seen the goddess, but spoke of her vaguely, lest he might assign to her a wrong name.

Mr. Leacock's Latin treatise on Greek Religious Processions is apparently a foretaste of a larger work on the same subject. Nothing could be fuller or more lucid, and the Latin is severely classical. He rightly rejects Saglio's views that a canephorus was ever a boy. Mr. Moore will, we hope, prosecute his studies on the

spread of Oriental cults by the soldiers throughout the Roman Empire into other volumes of the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions than that of Britain. It is an interesting fact which he notices that the ancient Britons appear to have been quite unaffected by these strange forms of worship. Mr. M'Daniel has made a raid into the Homeric Hymns, and effected a few precarious lodgments. His efforts are venturesome. The most meritorious seemed to us to be Hymn to Hermes 152 *λαίφεα θηρῶν* (for *λαῖφος ἀθύρων*) 'groping for the clothing'; and *id.* 325 *εὐνομίη* for the corrupt *εὐμυλίη*. Mr. Fisher's elaborate investigations of details connected with the worship of the Roman Emperors in Spain seem to elicit two noteworthy points: (1) that the *municipal* flaminica was elective, and not necessarily the wife of the flamen: while the *provincial* flaminica, at least in Tarraconensis, was the wife of the provincial flamen; (2) that in Tacitus, Annals i. 78 *datumque in omnes provincias exemplum*, the "example" which was set to the other provinces consisted in the fact "that they themselves requested the Roman government to be allowed to set up the temple to Rome and Augustus, whereas the temples elsewhere, except in Asia Minor, were set up by the central government." We regret that we are unable to agree with Mr. Bridge that the *συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός*, in Pindar, *Pyth.* v. 15, was the "eye of thy race," the *ὀφθαλμός* of the *συγγενὴς πότμος*. We cannot think that this is an improvement on the ordinary view which, owing to the many metaphorical usages of *ὀφθαλμός* and *δμμα*, interprets it as generally 'distinction,' 'illustriousness,' of race. Mr. Lee brings to light an ancient Roman bit which he illustrates with some fine photographs, and which he has proved both theoretically and practically to be "a curb and a very wicked one." We quite agree, and hope, even if he patents it, that it will never come into use in Ireland. That most eminent scholar, Professor Minton Warren, defends Skutsch's view that *IOVESTOD* in the inscription of the Roman forum is = *iusto*, comparing Paulus s.v. *Iovistae*. He rejects the form *cænalía* in the inscription on the Cista of Praeneste (see Professor Conway's "Italic Dialects," p. 322); and in the same inscription suggests that *feri porod* does not mean 'strike away' (*feri porro*), but that *porro* is from a noun *porrus* 'a stick.' He compares the Spanish *porra* and the words "*porri et persica*": *flagellum et cultrum accepit* in Petronius, c. 56.

The whole volume is evidence of the earnest and vigorous work which is being prosecuted at Harvard.

A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum. By JOHN L. MYERS, M.A., and MAX OHNEFALSCH-RICHTER, PH.D. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1899.)

THIS is much more than a catalogue. It is the first attempt to classify the antiquities of Cyprus on scientific principles. There is Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter's great book, *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer*, very valuable for the plates, but the text is confused, and it is next to impossible to gather from it any clear idea of the evidence for periods. The Preface to the Catalogue is sad reading: a record of scandalous neglect and indifference. The following passages will be sufficient to indicate the nature of the charges:—

"The British Government of Cyprus has hitherto spent nothing in maintaining, or even properly storing, the Collections for which it is responsible. Many of them lay for years in the outhouses of the Commissioner's Office in Nicosia, exposed to all kinds of ill usage. The unique colossal statue in terracotta, C. M. 6016, and the fine engraved silver bowl, C. M. 4881, were found here in 1894 irreparably damaged, and a number of other objects have not reappeared at all." . . . "The Government inspection of excavations is in many cases conducted by untrained persons, whose inventories, even when they are intelligible at all, are valueless for the identification of the objects which are described."

The first section of the Catalogue is a *Chronicle of Excavations*, undertaken in Cyprus since the British occupation. It is a most valuable piece of work. References are given under each site to all records, published or ms. Following this is an Introduction, in the form of a brief outline of Cypriote civilization—Early Man in Cyprus, the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, the Græco-Phœnician Age, the Hellenistic Age. We notice, in passing, that Petrie's "New Race," now accepted as pre-dynastic, is still placed between the sixth and the eleventh dynasties. This part of the Catalogue was probably printed off before the recent corrections of the evidence. The Catalogue proper appears to be a sound piece of work. Periods, transitions, and cross-influences are indicated, and the descriptions are supplemented by numerous references to examples in other museums. Seven plates of types are given at the end. Illustrations are now so cheap, it is to be regretted that a larger number of examples have not been figured. It is unnecessary to emphasize the importance of Cyprus as one of the keys to the culture movements in the Aegean and the Danubian area, on the one hand, and the Syrian coast, on the other. Hitherto the evidence available has been a mass of confused tangle. It is hardly too much to say, that the Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum makes it possible to handle the evidence with some approach to confidence.

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